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THE
TENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
American Society,

FOR
COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR

OF
THE UNITED STATES.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

WASHINGTON:

WAY & GIDEON, PRINTERS.

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1827.

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ERRATA.

In the first Resolution submitted by Mr. Mercer, read *as*, before essential, for "*is*." On the 24th page substitute, in the 8th line of the Speech, a *semi-colon* for the *period* after *piracy*. First line of the second paragraph, same page, for "*said he*," read *he said, he*. Same page, 3d line from the bottom, for "*of*," read *if*.

Middle of 25th page, read "*war*" before *was*.

In the first line, 2d paragraph, 26th page, for "*from which*," read *to which may be traced*. Fourth line from the end of the same paragraph, after "*report*," read *just read*. For "*on*," in the two last lines of the next paragraph, read *in*.

In the list of Officers, for *Elitzhugh*, read *Fitzhugh*.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
AT THEIR
TENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The adjourned Annual Meeting of this Society, was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Saturday evening, the 20th inst. when the Hon. Henry Clay, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, took the chair.

A letter from the *President* of the Society, JUDGE WASHINGTON, was read, expressing regret, that indisposition prevented his attendance. The Rev. Dr. LAURIE then opened the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. Mr. GURLEY announced as present the following delegates:

Hon. S. BELL, from the Auxiliary State Society, New-Hampshire.

Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR, } do. Vermont.
Hon. JOHN MATTOCKS, }

Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, Hampton County, Mass.

Hon. J. WOODS, Butler County, Ohio.

Hon. J. C. WRIGHT, Steubenville do. Ohio.

Hon. JOSEPH JOHNSON, Wheeling do. Virginia.

HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, Trumbull and Portage Co. Ohio.

HON. W. M^cLEAN, Piqua and Troy Counties, Ohio.

HON. JOHN WURTS, Auxiliary C. S. of Pennsylvania.

HON. J. LAWRENCE, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

HON. J. S. STEVENSON, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLAY then resigned the Chair to the Hon. R. RUSH, another of the Vice Presidents of the Society.

The following resolutions, submitted at the meeting on the 13th inst. and which were adopted on that occasion, were read:

By Hon. S. VAN RENSSELAER,

“Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Board of Managers, for their unremitted attention to its objects during the year, and for the Report just read, and that they be requested to print the same.”

By Hon. Mr. WEEMS:

“Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the various Auxiliary Associations, who, during the last year, have given their aid to its objects, and that they be respectfully and earnestly invited to co-operate still further, in accomplishing the design of the Institution.”

The following resolution offered by the Hon. Mr. POWELL, of Virginia, at the meeting on Saturday, the 13th inst. was then considered and adopted:

[When offering this resolution, Mr. POWELL had borne testimony to a great change in his opinion of the Society. He said he had at first looked upon it as calculated to produce evil instead of good. He did not think it necessary to explain the manner in which the change had been effected; but he now felt convinced that this Society promised to be the instrument of great and beneficial results.]

“Resolved, That this Society has viewed with pleasure the formation of Auxiliary State Societies in several of the States of this Union, with subordinate Associations in the Counties of those States, and express the hope that a similar system may be adopted, as far as practicable, in all the States.”

On motion of the Hon. Mr. LAWRENCE, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. Clergy, of all denominations, for the warm interest evinced on their part in the objects it has in view, and that they be respectfully and earnestly requested to take up collections for its aid, on the next Anniversary of our National Independence.

REV. WM. HAWLEY, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, submitted the following preamble and resolution :

Whereas, some of the Masonic Lodges of our country, in the exercise of that charity which so pre-eminently distinguishes the Institution of Free Masonry, have generously come forward and liberally contributed to the funds of the American Colonization Society : Therefore,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to those Lodges that have already commenced the benevolent work of aiding this Society, in not only providing an asylum for the Free People of Colour in Africa, but also of greatly contributing to the abolition of the inhuman Slave Trade, and the introduction of Christianity and Civilization into that wretched and benighted land; and that other Masonic Institutions, and the fraternity generally, throughout the United States, be invited to co-operate in this important, patriotic, and truly benevolent object.

Mr. KNAPP, of Boston, Mass. then rose and addressed the meeting. He said that he was induced to second the motion, believing that, if it were carried into effect, it would be of great benefit to the Society. During the last season, an agent of this Society travelled into that part of the country in which he (Mr. K.) resided, with the design of diffusing there a knowledge of the objects of the Society, and of invoking assistance from the benevolent and patriotic. By the means of the pulpit and the press, the agent called the attention of the community to this great concern. To almost all, it was a novel subject. True, it had been heard of through the public prints; yet, its objects and progress were not known, and the people were generally ignorant of the principles upon which it was founded. The agent pursued his labours with zeal and assiduity, aided by the few who had conceived just notions of the benevolent project; and there were some who were ready with their voices and with their purses to advance it, convinced that the Society were labouring in the cause of humanity; but with the great mass of the people, time and deliberation were required, before they could be enlisted in the good cause. Among the many means adopted by the friends of this Society in New England, for the attainment of their objects, one was an application to the Masonic Lodges. Mr. K. said he was a member of the fraternity, and with his brethren, was desirous that the subject should be considered in all its bearings, before any effective steps should be taken, and that this deliberation should be had without bias or prejudice; for Masons, although ever anxious to do good whenever a fair opportunity offered itself, yet, were not infected with that sickly sensibility which is forever painting in odious colours the horrors of negro slavery; crying up a crusade against the holders of slaves, and ready to oppose them in any way, without looking behind them or before for example or argument. They did deliberate. They considered the past and the present, and cast many an inquiring

glance into the darkened mists of the future. They knew that, at one period, slavery existed throughout the whole of the thirteen States of our early Confederacy: they knew that where slavery had been abolished it had operated to the advantage of the masters, not of the slaves: they saw this fact most strikingly illustrated in the case of the free negroes of Boston. If, on the anniversary celebrated by the Free People of Colour, of the day on which slavery was abolished, they looked abroad, what did they see? Not freemen, in the enjoyment of every attribute of freedom, with the stamp of liberty upon their brows! No, sir; they saw a ragged set, crying out liberty! for whom liberty had nothing to bestow, and whose enjoyment of it was but in name. He spoke of the great body of the blacks; there were some few honourable exceptions, he knew, which only proved what might be done for all.

What then was to be done? They saw that a great, a formidable evil existed; they knew something should be done; but how to attack that evil, how to act at once with propriety and effect, were the questions. They knew that the feelings of the South were to be regarded. At the East, they hated slavery; but they loved union and harmony more; nor did they desire to compromise the latter in their endeavours to remove the former; and in any efforts to ameliorate the condition of the degraded African, they did sincerely desire that the rights and feelings of all might be regarded—and that no infringement of the social compact should be involved; they wished even more—that no suspicion of such an infringement should be entertained, fully sensible of the delicacy of the subject. Under these circumstances, the fraternity stopped to inquire and to deliberate; and he was made the humble instrument of that inquiry. And, sir, (said Mr. K.) I must candidly say that my prejudices were strong, but my inquiry terminated in the most satisfactory conviction, not only that the objects of this Society were wise and benevolent, but that they were even worthy of the assistance of the citizens of the South, as well as other parts of the country, to whom they promised vast benefits; and although a few individuals of the South may entertain suspicions, I trust that they will all ultimately be dispelled. I looked upon the many evils of slavery with the aversion of a freeman; but I saw also that the evils were not confined to those who are virtually slaves. I saw that to those persons on whom circumstances had bestowed freedom, it operated as a curse, when they had not the means of obtaining knowledge, and of giving scope to the talents God had given them by nature. Take the greater part of those who had received their freedom by clemency, policy, or accident, or were born free, what did they know of freedom? What sense had they of its blessings? They were still, whilst in its nominal enjoyment, the same despised, degraded beings. Ignorance was their's from infancy: they had no social or political relations in the community—of which they were not members, but excrescences—thrown from a state of dependence and submission, abroad upon society; standing forth in odious distinctness from those who would not acknowledge them as fellow citizens; without a root in the soil from which they sprung, their liberty was statutory,

and looked well in the volume of laws, and in the code of the rights of man; but it was without essence and worthless, because it was without knowledge.

It is sometimes said by the desponding, that slavery is too great an evil ever to be remedied. The civilized world, or the European part of it, once made the struggle, and after centuries of religious exertion, succeeded. For two hundred years slavery had been abolished in most of the nations which professed the Christian religion, when the Portuguese commenced the accursed traffic again, to assist their numerous colonies. France and England had not moral energy enough to refrain, but followed the example to meet their rivals in the sugar and coffee market. It was no part of the calculations of our progenitors to cultivate the lands by slaves. The first were driven on our soil by accident; and in an evil hour, the indolence of the people prevailed over their sense of justice. The magnitude of the evil was not foreseen at that moment. In my opinion, it may be cured in less time than it has been growing up. Open once the facilities of emigration—show an object for it, and like any other business, it will increase to any extent we may wish. The natural world has yielded her impossibilities, as they were thought, to the efforts of enlightened man. Why should not he be as successful in the moral? A fair and permanent road is now built over the Alps, the passage of which was once considered as sufficient to give immortality to the successful adventurer. Inveterate diseases have yielded to skill and perseverance; political evils are vanishing before the statesman and economist; and why should the task this Society have undertaken, be held in greater dread than others?

Sir, this Society has grown up from the immediate spot where these evils most abound—from the slave holding States. The originators of this Society saw the danger of this growing ill, and enquired how it might be alleviated at the present, and obliterated by degrees. They looked around them with the humane endeavour to find a place where the liberty of the African might be real—where it might be no longer the emptiest of mockeries: for what is freedom without the emancipation of intellect? Where should this holy spot be found? What land should give freedom to this degraded race? They could not hope to fix a colony in America. We wanted no nation of blacks here; and had they been fixed on some of our uncultivated lands of the remote West, they would have been in danger from red men and white. They would be distant from either, and abused by both. This was first thought of by some; but those who saw how rapidly the Western regions were filling up with a white population, wisely argued that it would not do to send the colony there. The Society then turned their eyes upon Africa. And where should they fix the place of African regeneration, but in Africa? To many, the very name of Africa conveys an idea of indistinct horror; in the imagination, that word is often associated with all that is fearful in nature. It implies endless forests, into which man never penetrated; vast deserts, whose sands are eternally tossed by the whirlwind; sweeping torrents, spreading devastation, poisonous serpents, darting upon the venturous traveller; furious beasts, and every wild and formidable terror.

But, sir, this is entirely a fallacy. Africa is the only continent which derives its name from itself—from the character of its soil and climate. The word implies a horn of plenty, or an ear of corn; and Africa is the most fertile country on the globe. It has more sea coast than any other of the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. Its climate affords every delicacy which nature produces; there was not a luxury on the table of a Roman epicure, which Africa did not yield. The coffee, the tea plant, and the sugar cane, find there a congenial soil, and yield rich harvests; and that the soil will produce grain in abundance, is not to be doubted. It is an established rule of nature, that where man exists, that which is necessary for his support shall be produced.

It had been said that establishing this Colonization Society was merely a method adopted to get rid of these People, and that as such it would doubtless succeed, as they would go to Africa and die, and thus the object would be effected; but this is opposed to philosophy and experience; for it is a general rule, that every climate to which man becomes acclimated, is equally healthy. And, for proof of the nature of an African climate, witness the bones and muscles, and the hardy frames of the natives. Why then, it may be asked, cannot this Colony support itself, if it is so well situated as to soil and climate? I believe, the history of man shows us no instance, in which an early Colony supported itself. How was it with the two great Colonies of this country? Did they support themselves? Did Jamestown go on in its early period, without assistance? No, sir;—that great State, which has produced so many Statesmen and Orators, was in its incipient stages, sustained, and, I may say, established, by courtesy: for, it will be remembered, that the Government of England granted a lottery for the benefit of the Colonists; and, without that aid, notwithstanding the bravery of Smith, and the constant perseverance of the settlers, they must have failed in their endeavors to found a great and wealthy State. I will now come nearer home, and consider the condition of the fathers of New England. The feeble Colonists of Plymouth could never have sustained themselves without other aid than their own. They never could have braved, with success, the perils of their early settlement, unassisted. And this leads me again to speak of the effect of climate upon the first Colonists of a new country. Where were the first settlers of Jamestown before the four seasons had rolled over their new habitations? They were in their graves. And most of those persecuted men, who first stood upon the rock of Plymouth, were numbered with the dead, ere the next December's sun shone sickly upon the iron bound coast.

Those early Colonists were a sacrifice to public good. They were destined to make way for other offerings on the altar of enterprize. This is not unusual. The history of all times is full of instances. A thousand causes which might be mentioned, lead to it; privations, over exertions, and want of a thorough knowledge of the climate, are among them. Other reasons come to us in a formal array against the endeavour to plant a Colony in Africa. It is said, that the mind of the people of Nigritia and other parts of Africa is

not susceptible of high cultivation : that the Africans are a stupid race, whose nature, as was said of Caliban, was such, "that nurture would not stick to it." But, sir, this is the most unjust, as well as the most futile method of argument. As well might you judge of the fleet Arabian courser, by some poor hack horse which you should meet on your way to the Capitol, worn down under the lash, and feebly and unwillingly dragging his burthen, like a raw-boned Rozinante, as judge of the powers of the African mind, by the miserable, degraded wretches who dwell, shunned and contemned, among us. Sir, facts and history are opposed to this habit of disparaging the intellect of the sable sons of Africa. Some as great men as any nation ever produced, were born in that country.

I might name many whom history and their own works have immortalized. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and Tertullian, were Africans; and Terence, as sweet a bard as ever strung the lyre to song, was an African. Need I name Hanno and Hannibal? Or need I remind you, that it is contended by some writers of no common fame, that Africa is the native land of the arts; and that the science of Algebra had there its birth? With these details I will not detain you; but I will come down to our own times, and to our own country. And, if I am rightly informed, there lives among the Colonists now at Liberia, a man who was born in Africa, whose strength of intellect and elevation of character, might be the just cause of pride to any country. In the West Indies, there have been numerous instances which clearly prove, that the African character, even in a state of subjection, is capable of high improvement; setting aside all the stories of Threefinger'd Jack, or Cudjoe, in the mountains of Jamaica. But, sir, in my country—a land not destitute of poets, as we believe,—an African woman, the well known Phillis Wheatley, has produced a volume of poetry, which, while it displays want of education, and was written at hours stolen from the labours of slavery, and was the production of a mind weighed down by the shackles of servitude—for almost every poem commences with a lamentation of her enslaved and abject condition—stands almost at the head of the poetry of the age in which it was produced. I speak of this new world, in which poetry had not, at that time, kept pace with other branches of improvement. From a full survey of the African character, I hold it false to say, that the mind of those born in that country is not susceptible of high advancement.

The principles upon which this Colony was established, are such as must ensure it the approval of the wise and the good. Other Colonies have been established for ambitious or commercial purposes. They have grown from factories to forts, and have followed up trade by conquest. Treachery succeeded confidence until those who first implored succour and protection, became masters of those who permitted them to get foot-hold in their country. The histories of the Indies sufficiently prove the assertion. But the Society have not done so. They have gone quietly, only defended by the holiness of their cause and the purity of their intentions, to the aborigines, with offers to purchase their territory; they have gone forth to establish peace, comfort,

happiness, liberty, and independence; and not only these, but to make a stand on that coast, where a stand was never before effectually made, for the introduction of Christianity and Religion. And, as it has been justly said, that America established the first Lancasterian school to teach mankind their rights—this Society has thrown a slender branch of that school of the rights of man upon the coast of Africa. The natives will see what civilized men are, and from them will learn science, religion, and civilization.

The time was, when the torch of religion, and the lamp of science, shed their mingled rays over the People of Africa. The torch and the lamp have gone out, and darkness has usurped the place of light. But, we shall relume them again, and shed on the darkened minds of the People, the renovated lustre of Christianity and Civilization. Such were the thoughts of the projectors of this great design. This Society remembered that the Church of Christ was once prosperous in Africa. In one of the councils of the Church in that country, 277 Bishops, it is said, took their seats;—shall this country remain forever in barbarity? Should not every one who now calls upon the name of the true God, be engaged to re-build his kingdom in this desolation? But how was all this to be effected? for they had not only to establish a Colony in a wild and distant country, but they had to combat the prejudices—the honest long cherished prejudices of their countrymen, tenfold more difficult because they existed around our fire-sides: Ten-fold more difficult to conquer than a common enemy, because the conquest must be achieved by gentle means, by untiring exertions, and by kindly endeavours to convince and persuade. This great object, I sincerely believe, is well nigh effected. It must be brought about by a simultaneous movement of all those great engines which controul the moral influences in this country. The pulpit, that great lever of the moral world, must be used as heretofore. The public presses must be resorted to; for letters, in this day of intelligence, soften asperities, conquer the prejudices, and assist in forming the opinions of all classes in the community. The Masonic Lodges in every part of the country, must be applied to, for assistance.—Their existence is permanent, and what they may be brought to do, will not be a mere momentary act of charity, but their liberality will increase, as the dictates of their understanding shall become more and more convinced of the importance of the undertaking, and when once the question of utility is fully established, no pains will be spared in using the true means to reach such desirable ends. The State Legislatures will, from these numerous sources, catch the song of benevolence and Christian enterprize, and extend it to the Hall of Congress. It will become a national object, beginning at the true foundation, from the disposition, the feelings, and the convictions of the People.—This is public opinion; not that transitory, volatile unanalyzed air, which is often taken for public sentiment, when it is nothing more than popular excitement. From the smallest beginnings have arisen the greatest affairs of the world. God-rido's preaching brought about the Crusades;—a hand full of wanderers settled Rome; and a single adventurous spirit taught Europe the way to the

Western Hemisphere ; and who can say, but the exertions of a few individuals who conceived the plan of the Colonization Society may not be the foundation of an empire more enlightened than any time in his course has seen ?

Sir, there is a glory in this subject which I love to dwell upon ; there is a grandeur in the idea of carrying back the light to the East, whence we obtained it, which swells every bosom that throbs at the name of our country's greatness. The tide of empire and of intellect has been westward for centuries : and now let us flash back the rays of our glory and our liberty upon the darkened lands of the East. There that light will rise in strength and grandeur, brightening, by reflection, our country and its institutions. There is nothing visionary in this. Had you asked those who settled in Jamestown, whether they dared to dream that our country would, in this little space, rise to such a pitch of power and greatness as it now enjoys, they would have told you that hope alone was their's. The time may come when the darkness of Ethiopia and Mauritania shall have settled upon this land ; and then we shall still have a name upon the earth, and live in the memory of that happy race, whose early steps this Society have guided, and who will have been trained up in the paths of religion and independence.

The time of doubt and fear is past, and we may confide in the result of the labors of this Society. Is it to be believed that a continent whose soil is the most fertile on earth, where every luxury grows spontaneously, and where the rivers roll upon golden sands, is destined to remain the abode of ignorance and superstition ? No ! In that land where now the rites of Moloch and the feasts of cannibals offend the merciful will of our Christian God, the religion which we profess shall spread its influence pure and undefiled ; and the voice of thanks shall roll back to our country over the waste of waters. Let no man say this is visionary. It is well known with what satire and ridicule the anticipations of the good Dean Berkley of the glories of this Country, were treated both in prose and verse. The learned statesmen of that age, were amused at the prophesies of the enlightened enthusiast, when he sung that *westward the Star of Empire takes its way*.

One word more, and I have done. Sir, when we look directly before us and see a small beginning, a thousand objections are found which seem important, and which receive far more attention than they merit. It has been said that the Colony have shed blood. It is not denied ; and I believe it was justified. It is justifiable to shed blood to sustain the cause of civilization and freedom ; far more justifiable than to do it to sustain thrones and dominations. It was necessary on that foreign coast to establish for our Colony a character for firmness and bravery, which should awe those around them from aggression. That character has been established, and it will impress the natives with fear and respect. I understand that there are a number of native youths in the Seminary of the Colony. They will imbibe with the sciences which are taught them, a respect for the firmness, and an admiration of the justice of the Colony. These feelings and acquirements they will carry into the interior ; and who can predict the vast extent of the connexions which may thus be formed, or the good that may thus be dispensed ?

Sir, I have no doubt of the character of the Society ; and if I had entertained any such doubt, I should have needed only to glance over the names which compose the list of members. Sir, in that list I find the names of men whose legal decisions have become the opinions of the intelligent, throughout our country. I find, also, the names of men, upon whose lips listening Senates have hung with rapture. Their fame is indelibly fixed on the tablets of our history ; but their best and most permanent renown is recorded here. The fame of the patriot may be evanescent ; but that of the philanthropist is permanent. The firmest memorial of a great man, is inscribed in the cause of benevolence. It is inscribed in tablets of flesh ; it awakens the throb of gratitude in the hearts of men, which receive those living characters, and transmit them from generation to generation. Rise, then, ye statesmen ! ye sages and ye orators ! join all your efforts in this noble cause ; and let the time quickly come when the deserts of Numidia and the sands of Barca shall rejoice in the light of liberty and religion, and learning and science spread widely over those benighted realms.

The resolution submitted by the Rev. Mr. HAWLEY, was then adopted.

Dr. LAURIE prefaced the following resolution with a few remarks.

Mr. President,

The resolution I am now to offer, is one which must approve itself to the understanding and to the good feelings of every individual who has marked the progress of the settlement at Liberia, from almost the period when the first band of Colonists arrived at Montserado, to the present hour : it is a resolution expressing the approbation, the thanks of this Society to Mr. ASHMUN, the Colonial Agent, for the wisdom and zeal manifested by him, in conducting the affairs of the Colony.—I offer it without farther preamble.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. ASHMUN, the Colonial Agent, for the faithfulness, zeal, and ability with which he has discharged the duties of the trust reposed in him: which was adopted.

Mr. CLAY rose. I cannot (said he) withhold the expression of my congratulations to the Society on account of the very valuable acquisition which we have obtained in the eloquent gentleman from Boston, (Mr. KNAPP,) who has just favoured us with an address. He has told us of his original impressions, unfavourable to the object of the Society, and of his subsequent conversion. If the same industry, investigation and unbiassed judgment, which he and another gentleman, (Mr. POWELL,) who avowed at the last meeting of the Society, a similar change wrought in his mind, were carried, by the public at large, into the consideration of the plan of the Society, the conviction in its favour would be universal.

I have risen to submit a resolution, in behalf of which I would bespeak the favour of the Society. But before I offer any observations in its support, I must say that, whatever part I shall take in the proceedings of this Society,,

whatever opinions or sentiments I may utter, they are exclusively my own. Whether they are worth any thing or not, no one but myself is at all responsible for them. I have consulted with no person out of this Society; and I have especially abstained from all communication or consultation with any one to whom I stand in any official relation. My judgment on the object of this Society, has been long since deliberately formed. The conclusions to which, after much and anxious consideration, my mind has been brought, have been neither produced nor refuted by the official station, the duties of which have been confided to me.

From the origin of this Society, every member of it has, I believe, looked forward to the arrival of a period, when it would become necessary to invoke the public aid in the execution of the great scheme which it was instituted to promote. Considering itself as the mere pioneer in the cause which it had undertaken, it was well aware that it could do no more than remove preliminary difficulties, and point out a sure road to ultimate success; and that the public only could supply that regular, steady, and efficient support, to which the gratuitous means of benevolent individuals would be found incompetent. My surprise has been, that the Society has been able so long to sustain itself, and to do so much upon the charitable contributions of good and pious and enlightened men, whom it has happily found in all parts of our country. But our work has so prospered, and grown under our hands, that the appeal to the power and resources of the public, should be no longer deferred. The resolution which I have risen to propose, contemplates this appeal. It is in the following words:—

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be empowered and directed, at such time or times as may seem to them expedient, to make respectful application to the Congress of the United States, and to the Legislatures of the different States, for such pecuniary aid, in furtherance of the object of this Society, as they may respectively be pleased to grant.

In soliciting the countenance and support of the Legislatures of the Union and the States, it is incumbent on the Society, in making out its case, to show, 1st. That it offers to their consideration a scheme which is practicable.— And 2d. That the execution of the practicable scheme, partial or entire, will be fraught with such beneficial consequences, as to merit the support which is solicited. I believe both points to be maintainable. 1st. It is now a little upwards of ten years, since a religious, amiable and benevolent resident of this city, first conceived the idea of planting a Colony, from the United States,

* It has been, since the delivery of the Speech, suggested that the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, (who is also unfortunately dead,) contemplated the formation of a Society, with a view to the establishment of a Colony in Africa, and probably first commenced the project. It is quite likely that he did; and Mr. C. recollects seeing Mr. Finley, and consulting with him on the subject, about the period of the formation of the Society. But the allusion to Mr. Caldwell, was founded on the facts well known to Mr. Clay, of his active agency in the organization of the Society, and his unremitting subsequent labours, which were not confined to the District of Columbia, in promoting the cause.

of Free People of Colour, on the Western shores of Africa. He is no more; and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him, would be to inscribe upon his tomb, the merited epitaph, "Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society." Amongst others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honour of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy of a fair trial. A meeting of its friends was called—organized as a deliberative body, and a Constitution was formed. The Society went into operation. He lived to see the most encouraging progress in its exertions, and died in full confidence of its complete success. The Society was scarcely formed, before it was exposed to the derision of the unthinking; pronounced to be visionary and chimerical by those who were capable of adopting wiser opinions, and the most confident predictions of its entire failure were put forth. It found itself equally assailed by the two extremes of public sentiment, in regard to our African population. According to one, (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation,) it was a scheme of the slave holder to perpetuate slavery. The other, (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility, at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held,) declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves of the country, ignorant, uneducated, and incapable of appreciating the value, or enjoying the privileges of freedom.† The Society saw itself surrounded by every sort of embarrassment. What great human enterprise was ever undertaken without difficulty? What ever failed, within the compass of human power, when pursued with perseverance, and blessed by the smiles of Providence? The Society prosecuted, undismayed, its great work, appealing for succour to the moderate, the reasonable, the virtuous, and religious portions of the public. It protested, from the commencement, and throughout all its progress, and it now protests, that it entertains no purpose, on its own authority, or by its own means, to attempt emancipation, partial or general; that it knows the General Government has no Constitutional power to achieve such an object; that it believes that the States, and the States only, which tolerate slavery, can accomplish the work of emancipation; and that it ought to be left to them, exclusively, absolutely, and voluntarily, to decide the question.

The object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments are also voluntary. But it was said, that no free coloured persons

† A Society of a few individuals, without power, without other resources than those which are supplied by spontaneous benevolence, to emancipate all the slaves of the country!

could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life, and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a Colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation, whether a Colony can or cannot be planted from the United States, of free persons of colour, on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated: such a Colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war, and honourable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business of a civilized and Christian community.* It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighbouring clans.

Numbers of the free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The Society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation—aliens—political—moral—social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community. But on this matter, I am happy to have it in my power to furnish indisputable evidence, from the most authentic source, that of large numbers of free persons of colour themselves. Numerous meetings have been held in several churches in Baltimore, of the free people of colour, in which, after being organized as deliberative assemblies, by the appointment of a chairman (if not of the same complexion) presiding as you, Mr. Vice President, do, and secretaries, they have voted memorials addressed to the white people, in which they have argued the question with an ability, moderation, and temper, surpassing any that I can command, and emphatically recommended the Colony of Liberia to favourable consideration, as the most desirable and practicable scheme ever yet presented on this interesting subject. I ask permission of the Society to read this highly creditable document.

[Here Mr. C. read the memorial referred to.]

The Society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive Colony. And land in ample quantities, it has been ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favourable

* See the last Annual Report, and the highly interesting historical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Ashmun.

as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits.

In respect to the alleged incompetency of the scheme to accomplish its professed object, the Society asks that that object should be taken to be, not what the imaginations of its enemies represent it to be, but what it really proposes. They represent, that the purpose of the Society is, to export the whole African population of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design to be unattainable. They declare, that the means of the whole country are insufficient to effect the transportation to Africa of a mass of population approximating to two millions of souls. Agreed; but that is not what the Society contemplates. They have substituted their own notion for that of the Society. What is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population? It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so *many* among us of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution, who never can amalgamate with the great body of our population. In every country, persons are to be found varying in their colour, origin, and character, from the native mass. But this anomaly creates no inquietude or apprehension, because the exotics, from the smallness of their number, are known to be utterly incapable of disturbing the general tranquillity. Here, on the contrary, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass, can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.

The Colonization Society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several Governments of the Union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable objects of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted as we advance in national age; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if, during that whole term, the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious.—Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is

twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.

This Society is well aware, I repeat, that they cannot touch the subject of slavery. But it is no objection to their scheme, limited as it is exclusively to those free people of colour who are willing to migrate, that it admits of indefinite extension and application, by those who alone, having the competent authority, may choose to adopt and apply it. Our object has been to point out the way, to show that colonization is practicable, and to leave it to those States or individuals, who may be pleased to engage in the object, to prosecute it. We have demonstrated that a Colony may be planted in Africa, by the fact that an American Colony there exists. The problem which has so long and so deeply interested the thoughts of good and patriotic men, is solved—a country and a home have been found, to which the African race may be sent, to the promotion of their happiness and our own.

But, Mr. Vice-President, I shall not rest contented with the fact of the establishment of the Colony, conclusive, as it ought to be deemed, of the practicability of our purpose. I shall proceed to show, by reference to indisputable statistical details and calculations, that it is within the compass of reasonable human means. I am sensible of the tediousness of all arithmetical data, but I will endeavour to simplify them as much as possible.—It will be borne in mind that the aim of the Society is to establish in Africa a Colony of the free African population of the United States; to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. The whole free coloured population of the United States, amounted in 1790, to 59,481; in 1800, to 110,072; in 1810, to 186,446; and in 1820, to 233,530. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years, was about eight and a half per cent. per annum; during the second, about seven per cent. per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipations operating with more influence upon the total smaller amount of free coloured persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St. Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free coloured population.

Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free coloured, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want. During the ten years, between 1810 and 1820, when no extraneous causes existed to prevent a fair competition in the increase between the slave and the free African race, the former increased at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum, whilst the latter did not much exceed two and a half. Hereafter, it may be safely assumed, and I venture to predict will not be contradicted by the return of the next census, that the increase of the free black population will not surpass two and a half per cent. per annum. Their amount at the last census, being 233,530, for the sake of round numbers, their annual increase may be assumed to be 6000, at the present time. Now, if this number could be annually transported from the United States during a term of years, it is evident that, at the end of that term, the parent capital will not have increased, but will have been kept down at least to what it was at the commencement of the term. Is it practicable then to colonize annually six thousand persons from the United States, without materially impairing or affecting any of the great interests of the United States? This is the question presented to the judgments of the Legislative authorities of our country. This is the whole scheme of the Society. From its actual experience, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the persons already sent to Africa, the entire average expense of each Colonist, young and old, including passage money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head. There is reason to believe that it may be reduced considerably below that sum. Estimating that to be the expense, the total cost of transporting 6000 souls annually, to Africa, would be \$120,000. The tonnage requisite to effect the object, calculating two persons to every five tons (which is the provision of existing law) would be 15,000 tons. But as each vessel could probably make two voyages in the year, it may be reduced to 7,500. And as both our mercantile and military marine might be occasionally employed on this collateral service, without injury to the main object of the voyage, a further abatement might be safely made in the aggregate amount of the necessary tonnage. The navigation concerned in the commerce between the Colony and the United States, (and it already begins to supply subjects of an interesting trade,) might be incidentally employed to the same end.

Is the annual expenditure of a sum no larger than \$120,000, and the annual employment of 7,500 tons of shipping, too much for reasonable exertion, considering the magnitude of the object in view? Are they not, on the contrary, within the compass of moderate efforts?

Here is the whole scheme of the Society—a project which has been pronounced visionary by those who have never given themselves the trouble to examine it, but to which I believe most unbiassed men will yield their cordial assent, after they have investigated it.

Limited as the project is, by the Society, to a Colony to be formed by the free and unconstrained consent of free persons of colour, it is no ob-

jection, but on the contrary, a great recommendation to the plan, that it admits of being taken up and applied on a scale of much more comprehensive utility. The Society knows, and it affords just cause of felicitation, that all or any one of the States which tolerate slavery may carry the scheme of colonization into effect, in regard to the slaves within their respective limits, and thus ultimately rid themselves of an universally acknowledged curse.—A reference to the results of the several enumerations of the population of the United States, will incontestably prove the practicability of its application on the more extensive scale. The slave population of the United States amounted, in 1790, to 697,697; in 1800, to 896,849; in 1810, to 1,191,364; and in 1820, to 1,538,128. The rate of annual increase, (rejecting fractions, and taking the integer to which they make the nearest approach,) during the first term of ten years, was not quite three per cent. per annum; during the second, a little more than three per cent. per annum, and during the third, a little less than three per cent. The mean ratio of increase for the whole period of thirty years, was very little more than three per cent. per annum. During the first two periods, the native stock was augmented by importations from Africa, in those States which continued to tolerate them, and by the acquisition of Louisiana. Virginia, to her eternal honour, abolished the abominable traffic among the earliest acts of her self-government. The last term alone presents the natural increase of the capital unaffected by any extraneous causes. That authorizes, as a safe assumption, that the future increase will not exceed three per cent. per annum. As our population increases, the value of slave labour will diminish, in consequence of the superior advantages in the employment of free labour. And when the value of slave labour shall be materially lessened, either by the multiplication of the supply of slaves beyond the demand, or by the competition between slave and free labour, the annual increase of slaves will be reduced, in consequence of the abatement of the motives to provide for and rear the offspring.

Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States, calculated upon the return of the last census (1,538,128,) is 46,000. Applying the data which have been already stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of colour from the United States to Africa, to the aggregate annual increase both bond and free of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase of both descriptions, is 52,000. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, (supposing no reduction of present prices,) would be one million and forty thousand dollars, and the requisite amount of tonnage would be only 130,000 tons of shipping, about one-ninth part of the mercantile marine of the United States. Upon the supposition of a vessel's making two voyages in the year, it would be reduced to one half, 65,000. And this quantity would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunities of incidental employment of vessels belonging both to the mercantile and military marines.

But, is the annual application of \$1,040,000, and the employment of 65 or even 130,000 tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot, looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burthen to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane? During the general continuance of the African slave trade, hundreds of thousands of slaves have been, in a single year, imported into the several countries whose laws authorized their admission. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the powers now engaged to suppress the slave trade, I have received information, that in a single year, in the single island of Cuba, slaves equal in amount to one half of the above number of 52,000 have been illicitly introduced. Is it possible that those who are concerned in an infamous traffic, can effect more than the States of this Union, if they were seriously to engage in the good work? Is it credible—is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose, that the triumphs of fraud and violence and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue and benevolence and humanity?

The population of the United States, being, at this time, estimated at about ten millions of the European race, and two of the African, on the supposition of the annual colonization of a number of the latter, equal to the annual increase, of both of its classes, during the whole period necessary to the process of duplication of our numbers, they would, at the end of that period, relatively stand twenty millions for the white, and two for the black portion. But an annual exportation of a number equal to the annual increase, at the beginning of the term, and persevered in to the end of it, would accomplish more than to keep the parent stock standing. The Colonists would comprehend more than an equal proportion of those of the prolific ages. Few of those who had passed that age would migrate. So that the annual increase of those left behind, would continue gradually, but, at first, insensibly, to diminish; and, by the expiration of the period of duplication, it would be found to have materially abated. But it is not merely the greater relative safety and happiness which would, at the termination of that period, be the condition of the whites. Their ability to give further stimulus to the cause of colonization will have been doubled, whilst the subjects on which it would have to operate, will have decreased or remained stationary. If the business of colonization should be regularly continued during two periods of duplication, at the end of the second, the whites would stand to the blacks, as forty millions to not more than two, whilst the same ability will have been quadrupled. Even if colonization should then altogether cease, the proportion of the African to the European race, will be so small, that the most timid may then, for ever, dismiss all ideas of danger from within or without, on account of that incongruous and perilous element in our population.

Further, by the annual withdrawal of 52,000 persons of colour, there would be annual space created for an equal number of the white race. The period, therefore, of duplication of the whites, by the laws which govern population, would be accelerated.

Such, Mr. Vice President, is the project of the Society, and such is the extension and use which may be made of the principle of colonization, in application to our slave population, by those States which are alone competent to undertake and execute it. All, or any one, of the States which tolerate slavery, may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it by foreign nations—if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honour of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conquerer.

Having, I hope, shown that the plan of the Society is not visionary, but rational and practicable; that a Colony does in fact exist, planted under its auspices; that free people are willing and anxious to go; and that the right of soil as well as of Sovereignty may be acquired in vast tracts of country in Africa, abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the most ample Colony, and at prices almost only nominal, the task which remains to me of shewing the beneficial consequences which would attend the execution of the scheme, is comparatively easy.

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, supposing it to be practicable, none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that most desirable object, has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti, for a time, had its partizans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytien project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the Universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate portion of the Globe. Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free coloured. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them; if a Colony can be firmly established and successfully continued in Africa, which should draw off annually, an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done. If the principle be adopted and applied by the States, whose laws sanction

the existence of slavery, to an extent equal to the annual increase of slaves, still greater good will be done. This good will be felt by the Africans who go, by the Africans who remain, by the white population of our country, by Africa, and by America. It is a project which recommends itself to favour in all the aspects in which it can be contemplated. It will do good in every and any extent in which it may be executed. It is a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.

Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it that the degree of success of missionary exertions is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose piety and benevolence prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different colour and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust towards foreigners which repels and rejects them in all countries; and this feeling is in proportion to the degree of ignorance and barbarism which prevail. But the African Colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen, are of the same colour, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the Colony shall be fully understood, they will be received as long lost brethren restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred, by the dispensations of a wise Providence.

The Society is reproached for agitating this question. It should be recollected that the existence of free people of colour is not limited to the States only which tolerate slavery. The evil extends itself to all the States, and some of those which do not allow of slavery, (their cities especially) experience the evil in an extent even greater than it exists in the slave States. A common evil confers a right to consider and apply a common remedy. Nor is it a valid objection that this remedy is partial in its operation, or distant in its efficacy. A patient, writhing under the tortures of excruciating disease, asks of his physician to cure him if he can, and, if he cannot, to mitigate his sufferings. But the remedy proposed, if generally adopted and perseveringly applied, for a sufficient length of time, should it not entirely eradicate the disease, will enable the body politic to bear it without danger and without suffering.

We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The Society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquillity; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any one, contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The Society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences, we are not responsible for. It is not this Society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies towards Liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society. They must

go back to the era of our Liberty and Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race who are doomed to bondage.

Our friends, who are cursed with this greatest of human evils, deserve the kindest attention and consideration. Their property and their safety are both involved. But the liberal and candid among them will not, cannot, expect that every project to deliver our country from it is to be crushed, because of a possible and ideal danger.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when, collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious Republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American Representatives of the people, and redoubling our labours, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success. I hope the resolution which I offer will be unanimously adopted.

The resolution submitted by Mr. CLAY, was then considered and adopted.

Mr. MERCER submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

“Whereas, to the affliction of the Christian world, the African Slave Trade, notwithstanding all the efforts, past and present, for its suppression, still exists and is conducted with aggravated cruelty, by the resources of one continent, to the dishonour of another, and to an extent little short of the desolation of a third; and it is now apparent, that this guilty traffic must continue without abatement, so long as there remains a flag to cover it from detection, a demand for its victims, and the African coast is open to his incursions: And whereas, its utter abolition is essential to the security of African labour, and a safeguard of African Colo-

nization was early avowed to be one of the objects of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States; and has been, at all times since, steadily prosecuted, by its friends in the councils of the Union :

Be it therefore resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare, and to cause to be translated into the several languages of most current use, in Europe and America, a memorial to the Sovereign authority of every maritime nation on both Continents, earnestly soliciting the denunciation of the Slave Trade as piracy.

And be it further resolved, That the memorials having been approved and attested, by the signature of the President of the Society, shall be forwarded, by his advice, to their respective destinations.

In introducing his resolution, Mr. Mercer said that, admonished by the lateness of the hour to which the present meeting had been protracted, he should consume but a few minutes in recommending to the Society the resolution which he had the honour to submit. What he should say, would be prompted rather by the desire to vindicate from seeming presumption, the means which the resolution devised for the attainment of its object, than the end itself, which had already received the countenance of the National Legislature, in an act which denounced the African slave trade to be piracy. An example which had been promptly followed in Europe, by the nation most distinguished in that quarter of the globe, for her zealous and persevering, though hitherto unavailing efforts to abolish this criminal traffic. It was known that at the time when he had the honour of first calling the attention of the House of Representatives to the remedy which the resolution proposes for an evil, so obstinate and inveterate as to have baffled all others, the entire adjudications of those complex courts of mixed commission established at so much international labour, by Great Britain, amounted to but nine in number: and at the seat of that tribunal which overlooked the greatest mart for slaves in the West Indies, the Havana, there had not then been a single condemnation.

The subsequent progress of these tribunals, said he, had not the means of tracing, but it was notorious that since the period to which he had referred, the trade in question had been extended with circumstances of aggravated cruelty and atrocity. Of both its extent and horror, the African Institution afforded conclusive and mournful evidence. It presented a detailed list of the names of two hundred and eighteen vessels believed to be engaged in its prosecution in the year 1824, of which sixty-eight were Spanish, sixty-three Brazilian, thirty-nine French, twenty Portuguese, two Dutch, one Swedish, and one, to the dishonour of our own flag, American. Twenty-four others have their names enrolled in this dark catalogue, without a designation of their origin. How many others escaped in that year the vigilance of enquiry and pursuit, must be the subject of conjecture, from the number known and designated. But of each of those whose existence, employment, and names are ascertained and reported, diligently prosecuted its gainful commerce, not fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand victims swelled the

profits of their cupidity. Of these victims, probably not fewer than twenty thousand found a watery grave in the middle passage, or perished under the diseases incident to its loathsome imprisonment after their arrival at their destined market. More than twenty thousand reached, in that year, the single port of Rio Janeiro, in the dominions of his Imperial Majesty of Brazil, whose minister, on his recognition in this capital, as the representative of an independent nation, was instructed to inform our own Government, that his master concurred in the views of the United States, respecting the slave trade, and would adopt the earliest practicable means for its abolition!

It is, therefore, more manifest than ever, that the mere exchange of the right of search, sustaining a system of mixed tribunals, inefficient at all times, and subject to the derangements of war between their common sovereigns, are incompetent, separately, or taken together, to the end of greatly diminishing, much less of totally abolishing this execrable commerce.

It is only by making it the object of universal detection and punishment wherever its perpetrators can be arrested, by stamping upon it the seal of indelible infamy, and assuring its certain and heavy chastisement, by making it piracy by the consent of all nations, and investing it with all the consequences which the established law and usage of nations attach to this crime, that it can be hunted off the globe as other piracies are.

Both wit and argument indeed, have been pointed against this denomination of an offence, which was not only tolerated, but encouraged, at one period of modern Europe, by all maritime nations. But, at no very remote period, was every where construed to confer the right to reduce its prisoners and their posterity to perpetual slavery, without distinction of colour. This barbarous rigour brought the Helot to Sparta, as well as the Ethiopian to Rome. If the mild spirit of Christianity, of that religion which teaches man to "do unto others as he would have them to do unto him," has loosened the hold of successful valour upon its European captives, does not the same law loosen the bands which force has put upon the African? If robbery on the high seas, and on its desolate and barbarous shores, be piracy, without the accompaniment of murder, shall not that robbery which fastens on the person of the proprietor, and all that he holds dear in life, which so often extinguishes life itself, by pestilence and slow consuming disease, be also piracy? Such, in the early age of Greece, from whose language we derive this word, was the chief occupation of the sea-robber, who, like the modern Turk, infested the shores of the Mediterranean, to make captive and consign to slavery the peaceful labourers of its coasts and islands. The Mahometan corsair long practised, and still keeps up this warfare even in Europe; and thus still makes as formerly, occasional reprisals on her Southern border, for those cruel injuries which the European Christian trader inflicts on Western Africa. If the one deserve to be regarded as a pirate, does not the other equally so. If there be any inequality in their guilt, it is that the one does not trespass against the religion which his prophet taught him to propagate, not by love, but by the sword. Not so the Christian, whose gospel is peace, gentleness, and

mercy. But the concurrent statutes of Great Britain and America, have fixed upon this crime against humanity, its true denomination. It is now piracy, as regards the operation of the laws of each nation, upon its own subjects or citizens. In the English tongue, it is every where piracy. The object of the resolution is to extend this denomination of this offence, to the statutes and languages of all civilized maritime powers; that, incorporated in the common law of nations, it may meet with the punishment which it now escapes, under cover of the dishonoured flags of so many States, who either connive at its practice, or withhold the only means of its detection and punishment.

The resolution of the House of Representatives, from which the late abortive negotiation between the United States and Great Britain on this subject, sprung, from the desire of the popular branch of the National Legislature, to establish, by international agreement, that denomination of this offence, which the cotemporary legislation of Congress had so justly affixed to it. The abortive issue of that negotiation, and the subsequent rejection of a similar treaty with the Republic of Colombia, arising from an unfortunate disagreement between the Senate and the Executive, leave no hope for success for the object of the proposed resolution, through the direct agency of that branch of our Government charged with our foreign relations. It is, therefore, only by a direct appeal to the humanity of other States, through the only channels open to the American Colonization Society, that the resolution which I have just read, said Mr. M. proposes to renew the suspended efforts of the United States to extend the principle of their criminal code to other nations, until, by universal acquiescence, they shall become the foundation of that universal law which the tribunals of the civilized world are authorized to enforce. The security of the American Colony, the interesting report proves to be in some degree dependent on the success of these efforts; and not its security only, but the fruition of any rational hope that can be indulged, of promoting African civilization, which obviously depends on the security of African labour.

While, from these considerations, the resolution submitted to the Society, it is hoped, will derive an apology for its mover, it becomes his duty to shew that its adoption may promote the end which it proposes. And here, it might seem to argue some presumption to hope for success from the appeal of a private Society to that humanity which has been invoked, in vain, by the zealous efforts of the most powerful maritime State of the world, if, indeed, since the Congress of Vienna denounced this traffic, without universally concurring in any measure for its immediate abolition, there had not been a favourable change in the circumstances of two of those States, who influenced the deliberations of that Congress, and the very absence of any political power on the American Society, to enforce its requests, did not remove one obstacle at least to their success, on the pride of those to whom they are addressed.

Portugal, separated from Brazil and Spain, severed from her Colonies on the American Continent, have scarcely a remaining interest opposed to the ob-

ject of the resolution, and all the independent States of America, with the solitary exception of Brazil, have, by laws of greater or less severity, denounced and prohibited the African Slave Trade.

The singular inconsistency of France, in denouncing, and at the same time permitting this traffic to pass unpunished before her eyes, is in part to be explained by her jealousy of her ancient rival, whose motives for a stipulated exchange of the right of search, she suspects, and who having so recently witnessed a British army in her capital, revolts at every seeming concession to British power. Even in France, whose abused flag covers so large a share of this iniquitous traffic, a public sentiment against it has arisen, and is rapidly spreading, which must, ere long, reach the heart of her legislative councils, and of her Sovereign. A gallant nation cannot see its standard used to protect the vilest criminals from merited punishment, and will more readily listen to the testimony of this revolting abuse of its honour, through the memorial of a humane Society, than the diplomatic correspondence of her powerful and ancient rival.

Mr. Mercer concluded, by an apology for having so far exceeded the compass to which, when he rose, he had designed to limit his remarks.

The following Committee was then appointed to carry its object into effect, viz. Gen. MERCER, Gen. JONES, and Dr. LAURIE.

On motion of Mr. SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq. of New-Jersey,

Resolved, That this Society, deeply impressed with the loss its cause has sustained by the deaths of the Rev. HORACE SESSIONS, the Rev. CALVIN HOLTON, and Mr. CHARLES L. FORCE, will cherish, with gratitude and affection, the memory of these devoted friends to Africa.

On motion of the Rev. J. N. CAMPBELL,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to RICHARD SMITH, Esq. Treasurer, for the very important services which he has long and gratuitously rendered to this Institution.

On motion of Doctor LAURIE, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Hon. RICHARD RUSH, for the very able manner in which he has presided during the present meeting.

A Committee was then appointed consisting of F. S. KEY, Esq. and Gen. W. JONES, who nominated the following gentlemen as officers of the Society, for the ensuing year:

OFFICERS.

Hon. Bushrod Washington, President.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia,

Hon. Henry Clay, of Washington,

Hon. William Philips, of Massachusetts,

Col. Henry Rutgers, of New-York,

Hon. John E. Howard, of Maryland,

Hon. John C. Herbert, do.

Robt. Ralston, Esq. of Philadelphia,

Gen. John Mason, of Georgetown, D. C.

Samuel Bayard, Esq. of New-Jersey,

Isaac McKim, Esq. of Maryland,

Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia,

Right Rev. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania,

William H. Eitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia,

Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston,

Gen. Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia,

Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Yale College,

General Lafayette,

Hon. John Marshall, of Virginia,

Hon. Richard Rush, Washington City.

Managers.

Francis S. Key, Esq.

Walter Jones, Esq.

Rev. Dr. James Laurie,

Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch,

Rev. O. B. Brown,

Dr. William Thornton,

Rev. William Hawley,

Col. Henry Ashton,

Joseph Gales, Jun. Esq.

Dr. Thomas Henderson,

Rev. John N. Campbell,

Thomas Randall, Esq.*

Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary,

Richard Smith, Esq. Treasurer,

John Underwood, Recorder.

* Chosen in the room of the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, who has removed from the District of Columbia.

Report.

TEN years have now elapsed, since a few individuals assembled in this city, and deliberately formed themselves into an Institution for the purpose of establishing a Colony of the Free People of Colour of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

An enterprise of such a nature, so vast in conception, various in its relations, and remote in its consequences and its benefits, was seen to be involved in uncertainty, because relying for its full execution upon the aid of those, whose approbation could not reasonably be expected, until created by other evidences of its utility, than those which the scheme, as merely theoretick, presented to the public mind.

But should the means be contributed for demonstrating, experimentally, the utility of the plans of the Society, so far, as the actual establishment of a Colony on the African coast could be regarded as such demonstration, still, it was manifest, that, on the delicate but momentous question of the probable effects of this Colony upon the condition and interests of the great mass of our coloured population, two opinions would be adopted, entirely contradictory, and both, therefore, widely varying from the real purposes and hopes of the Institution.

The want of satisfactory information concerning the soil, climate, and natives of Africa, and the methods

most expedient to be adopted for the acquisition of Territory, and the very general aversion of the Free People of Colour to a design, which all of them could feel to be hazardous, but which few could comprehend; increasing, as it necessarily must, the indifference of those of our citizens who are governed rather by sympathy than reflection; constituted obstacles truly formidable, but which it was impossible to avoid.

It may not perhaps be irrelevant to the present occasion, to consider for a moment, by what motives and arguments the founders of this Society were enabled to sustain themselves in their earliest efforts for a cause, embarrassed by difficulties so numerous and immense, and so destitute of attraction to the eye of an ordinary observer.

There was a moral grandeur in the design itself, which rendered the bare possibility of its accomplishment a motive sufficient to justify every possible exertion. It presented itself in relations infinitely important to those whom it would remove from our shores; was seen connected with the domestic happiness, social order, political strength, and all the higher interests of our country; and seemed to offer the only hope, of rescuing Africa from the invaders of her rights, and the murderers of her children, and of imparting to her tribes, whose sable aspect is but the shadow of a darker mind, the pure and undying light of our religion.

In the operations of the Society, it was obvious that the principal difficulties must be encountered at the outset. That a few enlightened citizens might be induced to furnish the means for exploring the coast of Africa, there was reason to hope; and a favourable report from those delegated for this purpose, could not fail to secure

aid for the emigration of such intelligent and energetic adventurers as have never been found wanting to enterprises of the most arduous and dangerous character. Every practical movement of the Society would draw the public attention to its plans, and if successful, exhibit evidence of their utility which no developement of a theory, however plausible, could produce. Accounts from Africa would be perused by all; by the fanciful and inquisitive for the novelty of their statements, by the thoughtful and pious to learn the character of its inhabitants, and the best methods of instructing them in the principles of our faith. Thus reflection would be excited, and the objects of the Society become better understood; a knowledge of their nature would secure belief in their importance; the spirit of charity would advance with the progress of conviction; truth and time would soften down prejudice; and through the agency of the press, unremitted efforts and fervent prayer, the thoughts which dwelt at first in the breasts of a few, might finally enlist the sympathies and command the powers of the nation.

Animated by such considerations, the original Managers of this Society resolved to proceed, and the history of their operations for the last ten years, as detailed in their Annual Reports, will show the sobriety of their purposes, and the reasonableness of their hopes.

The facts connected with the efforts of the Society during the last year, and now to be presented to this Meeting, will add, the Managers trust, no little weight to the accumulated evidence heretofore adduced, of the practicableness and expediency of the scheme in which they are engaged.

It was stated by the Managers in their last Report, that the liberality of their friends had enabled them to despatch for the Colony the brig *Vine* with thirty four emigrants, a missionary, and printer, accompanied by the Rev. Horace Sessions, an Agent of the Society, who proposed to return in the same vessel ; and that the Indian Chief was about to depart from Norfolk with a much larger number of passengers. The first of these vessels sailed from Boston on the fourth of January, and arrived at Liberia on the seventh of February ; the last left Norfolk on the 15th of February, and completed her passage on the 22d of March.

A printing press, with all its necessary appendages, many valuable books, and other articles of equal importance, were shipped on board the *Vine* by the citizens of Boston, who evinced still farther their liberality, by assuming the whole expense of the printing establishment for the first year.* Eighteen of the emigrants by this vessel were, just before their departure, at their own request, organized into a church, and the impressive exercises of the occasion, upon which thousands attended with heartfelt interest, deepened the concern for the prosperity of the expedition. But the counsels of Heaven are too mysterious for human scrutiny, and the Almighty was pleased to visit this little company with a mortality unprecedented in the history of the Colony. Scarcely had the Managers seen announced in the first sheet ever issued from the Colonial press, the arrival of the *Vine*, before they received the mournful tidings of the decease of the Rev. Horace Sessions, Mr. Charles L. Force, the printer, and twelve of the emigrants, with whom others must now be reckoned, including the

* Note A.

missionary, the Rev. Calvin Holton, making in all nearly half the whole number of those who embarked from New England. But the attention of the Meeting is not left to dwell on this melancholy statement.

The Indian Chief conveyed to Africa one hundred and fifty-four persons, of which one hundred and thirty-nine were from the State of North Carolina. Not an individual of the latter number suffered materially from sickness, while some who left Norfolk in bad health, derived, ultimately, benefit from the change of climate. All felt more or less severely the symptoms of fever, ague, and prostration of strength, which the system must necessarily experience, on a transition from a temperate to a tropical climate; but they soon recovered their vigour, and proceeded to the erection of buildings, and the clearing of their lands.

As both these expeditions sailed from the United States in the winter, the striking contrast in their subsequent condition is doubtless owing, in great measure, to the wide difference in the change experienced by the two companies of emigrants; a difference which must be estimated by comparing the less constitutional liability to tropical disease, and the lesser influence of the season affecting those from the South, with the greater liability, and the more powerful influence of the season to which those from the North were exposed. It has been very justly remarked by the Colonial Agent, that as it would be rash for our friends in North Carolina to conclude that no emigrant from that State will hereafter suffer from the African climate, so it would be equally wide from sober calculation for the citizens of New England to determine from a single experiment, that

every similar movement would be attended with a like calamity.

The health of the Colonists (those who arrived in the *Vine* excepted) has been well nigh universal and uninterrupted, and no less animated and robust than that which they enjoyed in America. Among the passengers in the *Indian Chief*, the symptoms of disease were, in many instances, only sufficiently developed to show their specific character, and in nearly every case, yielded readily to the power of medicine. Many of the children and youth exhibit as much activity and muscular strength as the natives themselves; and "the adults who have resided for some years in the Colony, seem to acquire for the climate a peculiar predilection." The natives of the coast are remarkable for their vigorous and well proportioned frames, which are seldom broken or debilitated by disease. Probably no race of men enjoy health more uniformly, or in greater perfection. It is a fact also well ascertained, and peculiarly encouraging in reference to the African climate, that the country gradually rises from the sea-board into the interior, and that between these two regions, there exists a difference both in temperature and elevation nearly resembling what is found in our own Southern States.

The system of Government established with the full consent of the Colonists, in the autumn of 1824, and which the Managers had the happiness to represent in their last Report, as having thus far fulfilled all the purposes of its institution, has continued its operations during the year without the least irregularity, and with undiminished success. The republican principle is introduced as far as is consistent with the youthful and unformed character of the settlement, and in the election of their officers the Colonists have evinced such in-

tegrity and judgment as afford promise of early preparation for all the duties of self-government. "The civil prerogatives and government of the Colony and the body of the laws by which they are sustained," says the Colonial Agent, "are the pride of all. I am happy in the persuasion I have, that I hold the balance of the laws in the midst of a people, with whom the first perceptible inclination of the sacred scale determines authoritatively, their sentiments and their conduct. There are individual exceptions, but these remarks extend to the body of the settlers."*

The moral and religious character of the Colony, exerts a powerful influence on its social and civil condition. That piety which had guided most of the early emigrants to Liberia, even before they left this country, to respectability and usefulness among their associates, prepared them, in laying the foundations of a Colony, to act with a degree of wisdom and energy which no earthly motives could inspire. Humble, and for the most part unlettered men; born and bred in circumstances the most unfavourable to mental culture; unsustained by the hope of renown, and unfamiliar with the history of great achievements and heroic virtues, their's was nevertheless a spirit unmoved by dangers or by sufferings, which misfortunes could not darken, nor death dismay.† They left America, and felt that it was forever: they landed in Africa, possibly to find a home, but certainly a grave. Strange would it have been had the religion of every individual of these early settlers proved genuine; but immensely changed as have been their circumstances and severely tried their faith, most have preserved untarnished the honours of their profession, and to the purity of their morals and the consistency of their conduct,

* Note B.

† Note C.

is in a great measure to be attributed the social order and general prosperity of the Colony of Liberia. Their example has proved most salutary; and while subsequent emigrants have found themselves awed and restrained, by their regularity, seriousness and devotion, the poor natives have given their confidence and acknowledged the excellence of practical Christianity. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Examples of intemperance, profaneness or licentiousness, are extremely rare, and vice, wherever it exists, is obliged to seek concealment from the public eye. The Sabbath is universally respected; Sunday schools, both for the children of the Colony and for the natives, are established; all classes attend regularly upon the worship of God; some charitable associations have been formed for the benefit of the heathen; and though it must not be concealed, that the deep concern on the subject of religion, which resulted, towards the conclusion of the year 1825, in the public profession of Christianity by about fifty Colonists, has in a measure subsided, and some few cases of delinquency since occurred; and though there are faults growing out of the early condition and habits of the settlers which require amendment; yet the Managers have reason to believe, that there is a vast and increasing preponderance on the side of correct principle and virtuous practice. One gratifying instance has occurred in which two Methodist Societies, long separated, have been induced by juster views, unanimously to unite in

the same discipline and worship. On *this* subject the Managers will only add, that the moral interests of the Colony have been most essentially promoted by the eminent piety and labours of its ministers.

The agriculture of the Colony has received less attention than its importance demands. This is to be attributed to the fact, that the labour of the settlers has been applied to objects conducing more immediately to their subsistence and comfort. They have been too much occupied in the construction of houses and public buildings, and in conducting a profitable traffic with the natives, to leave much time to make permanent improvements on their plantations. The best methods of cultivation appear to be imperfectly understood, and the lands which were early cleared on the Cape, are inferior to those more recently surveyed and allotted to emigrants on the St. Paul's. Crops which exhibited the fairest promise until near the time of harvest, have been severely injured by the various and numerous animals and insects which inhabit the neighbouring forests. "The cultivation of a larger number of contiguous farms will tend to preserve them all from depredations," and these destroyers can hardly retain their "accustomed haunts" another season.

It will not, the Board trust, be concluded that, because more might have been done for the agricultural interests of the Colony, what has been effected is inconsiderable. Two hundred and twenty-four plantations, of from five to ten acres each, were, in June last, occupied by the settlers, and most of them are believed to be at present under cultivation. One hundred and fourteen of these are on Cape Montserado, thirty-three on Stockton creek, (denominated the Halfway Farms, because nearly equi-

distant from Monrovia and Caldwell, the St. Paul's settlement) and seventy-seven at the confluence of Stockton creek with the St. Paul's.

The St. Paul's Territory includes the Halfway Farms, and is represented as a beautiful tract of country, comparatively open, well watered and fertile, and still further recommended as having been, for ages, selected by the natives on account of its productiveness for their rice and cassada plantations. The agricultural habits of the present occupants of this tract, concur with the advantages of their situation, in affording promise of success to their exertions. "Nothing," says the Colonial Agent, "but circumstances of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent them from making their way directly to respectability and abundance."

Oxen were trained to labour in the Colony in 1825, and it was then expected that the plough would be introduced in the course of another year. Although commerce has thus far taken the lead of agriculture, yet the excellence of the soil, the small amount of labour required for its cultivation, and the value and abundance of its products, cannot fail, finally, to render the latter the more cherished, as it is, certainly, the more important interest of the Colony.

The Trade of Liberia has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled, and while it has supplied the Colonists not only with the necessaries, but with the conveniences and comforts of life, the good faith with which it has been conducted, has conciliated the friendship of the natives, and acquired the confidence of foreigners.

The regulations of the Colony allowing no credits, except by written permission, and requiring the barter to be carried on through factories established for the

purpose, has increased the profits of the traffic, and prevented numerous evils which must have attended upon a more unrestricted license.

Between the 1st of January and the 15th of July, 1826, no less than fifteen vessels touched at Monrovia and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount, according to the best probable estimate, of \$43,980, African value. The exporters of this produce realize, on the sale of the goods given in barter for it, a profit of \$21,990, and on the freight, of \$8,786, making a total profit of \$30,786.

A gentleman in Portland has commenced a regular trade with the Colony, and for his last cargo landed in Liberia, amounting to \$8,000, he received payment in the course of ten days.* The advantages of this trade to the Colony, are manifest from the high price of labour, (that of mechanics being two dollars per day, and that of common labourers from 75 cents to \$1 25 cents,) and from the easy and comfortable circumstances of the settlers. "An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing an abundant table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, without an ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, it is believed, be found." "Every family," says Mr. Ashmun, "and nearly every single adult person in the Colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

The Managers are happy to state, that the efforts of the Colonial Agent to enlarge the TERRITORY of Liberia,

and particularly to bring under the government of the Colony a more extended line of coast, have been judicious and energetic, and in nearly every instance resulted in complete success. From Cape Mount to Tradetown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the Colonial government has acquired partial jurisdiction. FOUR of the most important STATIONS on this tract, including Montserado, belong to the Society, either by actual purchase, or by a deed of perpetual lease; and such negotiations have been entered upon with the chiefs of the country, as amount to a preclusion of all Europeans from any possessions within these limits. The fine Territory of the St. Paul's, now occupied by settlers, was described in the last annual report of the Society.

The Territory of Young Sesters, recently ceded to the Society, is ninety miles south of Montserado, in the midst of a very productive rice country, affording also large quantities of palm oil, camwood, and ivory. The tract granted to the Colony, includes the bed of the Sesters river, and all the land on each side, to the distance of half a league, and extending longitudinally from the river's mouth to its source. In compliance with the terms of the contract, the Chief of the country has constructed a commodious store house, and put a number of labourers sufficient for the cultivation of a rice plantation of forty acres, under the direction of a respectable Colonist, who takes charge of the establishment.

The right of use and occupancy has also been obtained to a region of country on the south branch of the St. John's river, north nine miles from Young Sesters, and the trading factory established there, under the superintendence of a family from Monrovia, has already proved a valuable source of income to the Colony. Rice is also here to

be cultivated, and the Chief who cedes the territory, agrees to furnish the labour.

The upright and exemplary conduct of the individual at the head of this establishment, has powerfully impressed the natives with the superiority of civilized and christian men, and with the importance of inviting them to settle in their country ; and consequently, the offer made by the Colonial Agent, for the purchase of Factory Island, has been accepted by its proprietor. This Island is in the river St. John's, four miles from its mouth, from five to six miles in length, and one third of a mile in breadth, and is among the most beautiful and fertile spots in Africa. A few families are about to take up their residence upon it, and prepare for founding a settlement, "which cannot fail," says Mr. Ashmun, "in a few years, to be second to no other in the Colony, except Monrovia."

Negotiations are also in progress with the Chiefs of Cape Mount, which, if successful, will secure to the Colony the whole trade of that station, estimated at \$ 50,000 per annum, and may ultimately lead to its annexation to the Territories of Liberia. "The whole country between Cape Mount and Trade Town," observes Mr. Ashmun, "is rich in soil and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the sea-board, the traveller, every where, at the distance of a very few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfalling water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea,

although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found every where to yield, in both respects, to the interior.”

Much progress has been made the last year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence, though, with adequate supplies of lumber, more might doubtless have been accomplished. Two handsome churches, erected solely by the Colonists, now adorn the village of Monrovia. Fort Stockton has been rebuilt in a style of strength and beauty. A receptacle capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, is completed. The New Agency House, Market House, Lancasterian School, and Town House in Monrovia, were, some months since, far advanced, and the finishing strokes were about to be given to the Government House on the St. Paul's. The wing of the Old Agency House has been “handsomely fitted up for the Colonial Library, which now consists of 1200 volumes systematically arranged in glazed cases, with appropriate hangings. All the books are substantially covered, and accurately labelled; and files of more than ten newspapers, more or less complete, are preserved. The library is fitted up so as to answer the purpose of a reading room, and it is intended to make it a museum of all the natural curiosities of Africa, which can be procured.”

No efforts have been spared to place the Colony in a state of adequate defence, and while it is regarded as perfectly secure from the native forces, it is hoped and believed that it may sustain itself against any piratical assaults. “The establishment has fifteen large carriage guns and three small pivot guns, all fit for service.” Fort Stockton overlooks the whole town of Monrovia, and a strong double battery is now building on the height of Thompson Town, near the extremity of the Cape,

which it is thought will afford protection to vessels anchoring in the roadstead. The militia of the Colony consists of two corps appropriately uniformed, one of Artillery of about fifty men, the other of Infantry of forty men, and on various occasions have they proved themselves deficient neither in discipline or courage.*

It is impossible for the Managers to express the regret excited by the reflection that the system of education in the Colony, second as it is to no one of its interests, is extremely defective, and that the best endeavours to improve it have, for the present, been arrested by the ordinations of an all wise but mysterious Providence. Several primary schools continue in operation, but the ability of the teachers is only equal to the communication of the mere rudiments of knowledge. The plan of instruction commenced by the Rev. Mr. Holton, promised inestimable benefits, but his sudden and lamented decease has shaded the prospect which seemed so fairly opening, for the intellectual improvement of the Colony. It is hoped, that men of colour may be found, qualified to act in the capacity of teachers, and thus prevent the recurrence of so sad a disappointment. Regarding this subject as one of vital interest, the Managers will not fail to give to it the most sedulous and unremitted attention.

It is a fact, which cannot fail to awaken in this Meeting the deepest concern, that the records of the Colony afford abundant and unequivocal evidence of the undiminished extent and atrocity of the African Slave Trade. From eight to ten, and even fifteen vessels have been engaged at the same time in this odious traffic, almost within

* Note E.

reach of the guns of Liberia ; and as late as July, 1825, there were " existing contracts for eight hundred slaves, to be furnished in the short space of four months," within eight miles of Monrovia. Four hundred of these were to be purchased for two American slavers. A boat belonging to a Frenchman, having on board twenty-six slaves, all in irons, was, in September, 1825, upset in the mouth of the St. Paul's, and twenty of their number perished. This is one of the lesser scenes of tragedy, says the Colonial Agent, which are daily acting in this wretched country. But the crimes of these lawless invaders of human liberty are not confined to their acknowledged profession ; they defy the laws of all civilized nations, and engage in every species of piracy.

The crew of a Spanish schooner recently boarded and robbed an English brig, lying at anchor off Cape Montserado, the captain of the latter, being at the time in Monrovia. The aid of the Colonial Agent was invoked for the punishment of the offence, who felt himself obliged, from regard to his own safety, not to leave unnoticed so flagrant a violation of the law of nations. The offer of a number of the Colonial militia, to proceed immediately to take possession of the factory built by the master of the piratical vessel, a few miles from Monrovia, was accepted, and the expedition resulted in the capture of fourteen slaves, and the entire destruction of the establishment. A few of the poor Africans thus relieved from their manacles, ignorant of the language of the settlement, and unable to appreciate the motives which led to their capture, and the benevolence which was still operating for their benefit, fled from the Colony, and were soon after taken by the natives, and sold to a Frenchman who was then employed in purchasing

slaves on the St. Paul's. When their situation was made known, the Colonial Agent demanded that they should immediately be delivered over to the authorities of the Colony. A peremptory refusal having been made to this demand, it was judged necessary to attempt their recovery by force, which was speedily effected, and possession at the same time obtained of the whole number of slaves at the factory, amounting in all to ninety-nine.

About the same time, two or three others of these recaptured Africans, who had escaped from the Colony, were conveyed by the natives to a factory at Trade Town, a slave mart, 100 miles South of Cape Montserado, and the most notorious one existing between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone.

An effort to recover these individuals peaceably proved entirely unsuccessful. It was known also, that one of the three vessels, then waiting for their complement of slaves at Trade Town, had committed various piratical acts since her arrival on the Coast. Justified, therefore, as was believed, by those principles of right which ought to govern all human actions, the Agent, attended with thirty-two volunteers from the Colony, assisted by the Colombian armed schooner Jacinta, Captain Chase, immediately embarked for Trade Town, detained the two vessels, (the third having been previously captured by a French brig of war) effected a landing, seized fifty-three slaves, and reduced all the stores and buildings of the factory to ashes.

These bold and energetic measures have done much towards the exclusion of the Slave Trade from this part of Africa, and have indeed banished it entirely (at least for the present) from the whole district of country be-

tween Cape Mount and Trade Town.* But the Managers cannot hope that a traffic so long established, so gainful, so extensive, and which enlists in its support, so many of the deep and malignant vices of the heart, will be exterminated, without more decided and combined measures, than have ever yet been adopted by the powers of the Christian world.

The influence of the Colony with the natives, is great and increasing, and resulting as it does, principally, from the integrity and kindness manifested towards them by the Colonial Government in all its transactions, may be expected to be permanent. They begin to feel the superior advantages of civilized life, and to secure through the settlement, by lawful trade, those articles which were formerly acquired, only by the sale of their brethren. "No man of the least consideration in the country," says Mr. Ashmun, "will desist from his importunities, until one, at least, of his sons is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship, and these built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other."

Here the Managers pause, to pay a mournful and affectionate tribute of respect to the memory of the dead. The Rev. Horace Sessions, the Rev. Calvin Holton, and Mr. Charles L. Force; the two former Agents of the Society, and the latter employed as printer for the African Colony, have been called from the field of toil on which they had but just commenced exertions most honourable to themselves, and useful to the Society, to the invisible and eternal world. Mr. Sessions superintended the embarkation of the emigrants by the *Vine*, and accompanied them to Liberia, in the hope of acquiring information which might enable him more successfully to

* Note F.

prosecute an Agency for the Society in the United States. Mr. Holton had devoted himself, with a martyr's spirit, to Africa, and his instructions and missionary labours in the Colony, promised greatly to advance its literary, moral, and religious interests. But the will of Heaven has removed them, and to that will it becomes us to bow, in humble confidence, that He who prepared them for usefulness in life, will not leave to perish, the influence of their example.

The events which have occurred in the United States during the year, favourable to this Institution, are too numerous to be given in detail, and too important to be left unnoticed. They have been such as must confirm the faith of the wavering, strengthen the confidence of the irresolute, and stimulate the decided friends of our cause to higher and nobler exertions.

The number of subscribers to the African Repository and Colonial Journal, has very much increased, and it is circulated at present in nearly every State of the Union.

The Managers have heard with pleasure, that an Institution denominated the Kosciusko school, has been founded in New Jersey, and that one of its prominent objects is to qualify young men of colour for usefulness in Liberia. The name of Kosciusko is associated with this school, in honor of that illustrious individual, who, on his final departure from America, intrusted to Mr. Jefferson a fund to be applied by him to the purchase and education of African slaves, which fund is, on certain conditions, to be appropriated to the benefit of this Seminary, which will long stand, we trust, a monument of the charity of that noble foreigner, whose valour and services, in the cause of freedom and humanity, are revered throughout our country and the civilized world.

The Free People of Colour are becoming more generally and decidedly favourable to the views of the Society, and many of the best informed and most industrious, have resolved upon an early removal to Liberia. In Baltimore, they have recently, in a memorial to the whites, implored the means of emigration, and expressed their full conviction of the benevolence and wisdom of the plans of the Society.*

The Clergy of nearly all denominations have taken occasion, on the Anniversary of our National Independence, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day, to explain to their Congregations our design, and solicit contributions in its behalf, the amount of which has, it is believed, exceeded any similar collections in former years.

The brig Doris is now preparing to sail to Liberia, with a considerable number of emigrants, most of whom are from North Carolina.

The Reports of the Agents employed by the Society in different sections of the country, are of the most encouraging character, and prove, that a deep, rapid, and extensive change, favourable to the interests of this Institution, is taking place in the public mind. More than twenty Auxiliary Societies have been formed in the course of the year. Among these, is the *Colonization Society of the State of Pennsylvania*, which, from its situation, (Philadelphia,) the energy with which it has commenced operation, and the liberality which has thus early been evinced in its support, may be expected to act very effectively in aid of our cause.

The Managers are peculiarly gratified to know, that the citizens of the Western States begin highly to ap-

* Note G.

preciate the objects of the Society, and that they are almost unanimously disposed to countenance and sustain them. They have this day received intelligence of the organization of a State Society in Ohio, under circumstances so cheering, as to justify the prediction, that it will prove among the most important Auxiliaries in the Union.

In conclusion, may not the Managers be permitted to express the hope, that this work, so auspiciously commenced, but for the completion of which, private charity must prove inadequate, appealing, as it does, equally to our duty and interest—to the Christian, who recognizes in man, wherever he is found, an heir of immortality—to the Statesman, who would build up his country's glory on her justice and magnanimity,—may be regarded as strictly national, worthy of the most earnest attention and liberal patronage of the Legislatures of the several States, and of the Federal Government.

DR.

The American Colonization Society in Account Current with Richard Smith, Treasurer.

1826.

Feb.	1,	To J. M'Phail's draft,	\$1,001 75
	23,	" R. Beveridge & Co. do.	250 34
	27,	" Do.	321 49
	28,	" H. Sessions,	750
March	11,	" Do.	800
		" J. C. Dunn,	32
	13,	" J. Dodds,	28
		" R. R. Gurley,	15
April	1,	" J. Kennedy,	77
		" J. A. Kennedy, for postage,	24 57
	25,	" G. A. Peaco, salary,	150
May	14,	" J. Ashmun's draft,	183 03
	24,	" Davis & Force,	241 03
		" R. R. Gurley,	100
June	12,	" G. S. Oldfield, for freight out and home, and passage of emigrants to Liberia, in ship Indian Chief,	4,500
		" R. R. Gurley,	6
		" Messrs. Gales & Hawley,	50
		" Messrs. Way & Gideon,	500
July	3,	" Messrs. Gales & Seaton,	10
		" J. Dodds,	22 75
		" John Kennedy,	47 40
	8,	" King & Tyson,	631 33
	12,	" J. A. Kennedy, postage,	33 58
		" B. Ferguson,	60
	13,	" J. Ashmun's draft, for books and thermometer,	30
	15,	" P. Thompson,	22 68
		" Rev. W. Hawley, ac. J. Ashmun,	200
	26,	" H. Sessions's draft,	750
		" John Kennedy,	93 81
Aug.	2,	" R. R. Gurley,	40
		" B. M. Miller,	50
		" J. Ashmun,	173 42
		" D. R. Harrison,	55
	14,	" J. W. Peaco, salary,	150
	21,	" R. R. Gurley,	200

Carried forward, \$11,600 18

Amount brought over, \$ 11,600 18

1826.

Aug.	28,	"	Rev. Mr. Peers,	50
	29,	"	R. R. Gurley, expenses to New York,	37 35
	31,	"	H. Sessions's draft,	778 59
		"	Ropes, Reed, & Co.	150
		"	Loss on notes,	2 23
Sept.	8,	"	J. McPhail,	600
		"	Rev. W. Hawley, on ac. of Mr. Ashmun,	100
	12,	"	Way & Gideon,	145 05
		"	R. R. Gurley,	104
Oct.	5,	"	Way & Gideon,	500
		"	G. W. Peaco, salary,	150
		"	J. A. Kennedy, postage,	33 77
	30,	"	John Kennedy,	117 23
Nov.	4,	"	Note paid to Bank,	400
		"	R. R. Gurley,	40
		"	Loss on the draft of the Friends in N. Carolina,	20
	27,	"	J. Ashmun's draft,	185 72
		"	R. R. Gurley, draft to R. Ralston, Esq.	100
Dec.	4,	"	J. Ashmun's draft,	152 75
	9,	"	Loss in exchange of foreign notes,	6
		"	R. R. Gurley,	80
		"	D. M. Harrison,	60
		"	Rev. W. Hawley,	5
		"	Do. ac. J. Ashmun,	400
		"	J. Ashmun's draft,	352 03
	14,	"	F. R. Kennedy,	20 40
		"	John Kennedy,	111 81
	16,	"	Way & Gideon,	547 11
	25,	"	John Kennedy,	100
1827.				
Jan.	5,	"	Postages on letters to R. Smith, Treasurer,	18 20
	15,	"	B. Brand,	400
		"	B. O. Peers,	65
		"	J. A. Kennedy, postage,	32 50
Feb.	3,	"	Mr. Nott,	2
		"	R. R. Gurley, salary,	250
		"	Balance, including \$ 66 in counterfeits,	1,246 93

\$ 18,963 87

Supra CR.

1826.

Jan. 26,	By	Balance on hand, including \$ 44 of counterfeits,	3,392 16
March 30,	"	Amount of contributions, as published in the Rep.	2,429 94
	"	Proceeds of loan from Bank,	395 73
May 24,	"	Amount from Navy Department, for the purpose of paying freight on supplies sent in the ship Indian Chief, for the captured Africans,	3,000
Sept. 30,	"	Amount of contributions as published in Repository,	4,361 48
		Deduct this sum, for the difference between the actual collection in the church at Parsippany, N. J. and that reported,	63
			<hr/> 3,298 48
Dec. 2,	"	Proceeds of loan from Bank,	395 73
31,	"	Amount of contributions as published in the Repository,	3,430 17
		Deduct this sum, retained as commission, by John French,	36 93
			<hr/> 3,393 24

1827.

Jan. 31,	"	Amount of contributions, as published in the Repository,	1,658 59
			<hr/>
			<u>\$ 18,963 87</u>

1827.

Feb. 3,	By	balance, including 66 dollars in counterfeits,	<u>\$ 1,246 93</u>
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APPENDIX.

Note A.

THE conduct of the citizens of Boston, during the preparations for the Vine's departure, was worthy of the high character they have acquired for liberality towards the various benevolent institutions of the age. We refer our readers, for particulars, to the concluding article in the Appendix of our Report of the last year.

Note B.

"I am certainly justified in the assertion that very few even of the most indolent minds amongst us, have not clear and precise ideas of our system. The last annual election of Colonial officers in August, was distinguished by a dispassionate intelligence of selection, which afforded the best pledge of the kind yet given, of the increasing competency of the people for self-government. The election resulted in the appointment of such men to the offices of the Colony, as not only possess the essential qualifications for a proper discharge of their functions, but who were known to be entirely disposed to a cordial co-operation with their Agent.—The civil prerogatives and government of the Colony, and the body of laws by which they are respectively secured and administered, are the pride of all. Former experience has convinced them of the absurdity of straining a point of personal independence to such lengths as to weaken the force of the laws, or impede the energetic movements of the executive arm.—The first appearance of such turbulent examples (and every expedition from the United States furnishes several) is now seen to excite disgust, and awaken a general sentiment of derision and opposition; which seldom fails more effectually to instruct and cure the ignorance

and perversity against which it is directed, than the coercive power of law itself.

“The litigious practices of the first and second years of the Colony, have been so far reformed by the accession of more friendly feelings, and correcter ideas of moral justice, amongst the Colonists, as, for some months past, to have left the courts of justice little else to do, but to verify transfers of property, and announce, in cases of difficulty, the just construction of the laws.

“In the punishment of offences, the most lenient maxims of modern jurisprudence have been observed, by way of experiment on human nature, in that particular modification of it exhibited by the population of this Colony.”

Note C.

Many of the early emigrants to Liberia were among the most distinguished of their class, for intelligence and piety in the United States. They did not embark in the difficult and doubtful enterprize of founding a Colony, without reflection. They were prepared to meet the obstacles which must be surmounted, and to endure the trials which were inevitable. Speaking of the early events of the Colonial History, Mr. Ashmun observes,

“To arrive at the remote spot on which these humble scenes were transacted, I must tax the reader’s imagination with a flight across the Atlantic ocean, which, by limiting the circle of his ordinary avocations, may hitherto have bounded the range of his liveliest sensibilities. I must send it far from the polished and populous districts of European and Asian refinement—beyond the habitations of civilized man—to the least frequented recess of a coast almost the least frequented on the globe. On this spot, a handful of coloured emigrants from the United States, in whose bosoms the examples of history had never kindled the fire of emulation—whose only philosophy had been acquired from a series of dispiriting conflicts with every form of physical and moral adversity—and whose prospects, at that moment, were as dark and appalling, as the memory of the past was embittered—ejected from the land of their birth,—hostility, famine, and destruction menacing them in that of their adoption: such is the humble character

of the individuals, and equally humble is the scenery and the action which are to enliven the incidents of this narrative."

Yet amid scenes like these, the religion of these settlers did not die. It appeared to take deeper root in the storm, and not only sustained its professors, but pervaded the minds of a great portion of the community.

"Under the second division of the article of information, already in part anticipated, it is a circumstance to *me*, and I trust will prove to the Society, more substantially satisfactory than any others I have to communicate: that their Colony is in deed and reality a Christian community. The Holy Author of our religion and salvation, has made the hearts of a large proportion of these people the temples of the Divine Spirit. The faith of the everlasting Gospel, with an evidence and strength which nothing short of the power of the Almighty can produce or sustain, has become the animating spring of action, the daily rule of life, the source of immortal hope and ineffable enjoyment, to a large proportion of your Colonists. God is known in his true character—his worship is celebrated in its purity—the doctrines of salvation are received in their genuine simplicity by very many. Occurrences of a favourable or depressing aspect are regarded as dispensations of the Almighty, and followed with correspondent feelings of gratitude or humiliation. Tears of affectionate joy or sorrow are often seen to flow in the house of God, from hearts silently melting under the searching influence of his word.—I have seen the proudest and profanest foreigners that ever visited the Colony, trembling with amazement and conviction, almost literally in the descriptive phraseology of St. Paul, 'find the secrets of their hearts made manifest, and falling down upon their faces, worship God, and report that God is in the midst' of this people 'of a truth.'

"These facts I have judged it my duty to state, to the praise of that God to whom we are entirely indebted for so precious a testimony of his favour,—and for the information of thousands in the United States, to whose prayers and pious attentions we may, under the Most High, refer it.—I am not insensible of the delicacy and responsibility attending the publication of a statement of this nature; and of the great danger a more cautious pen than mine might incur, of communicating on it, either too little or too

much. But as the grand secret of the improving circumstances of this Colony,—of the respect it commands without, and of the happiness, order, and industry which reigns within it, is wrapped up in the controlling influence of religion on the temper and habits of the people, I should greatly wrong the cause of truth, by suppressing or too lightly passing by, a topic of such leading importance. The precious hopes of an immortality of vigorous and beatific existence in the presence of God and the Redeemer, are no inefficient principles of action and of happiness in the human mind, even in the midst of this mixed and tumultuous life: and they have attended and sustained a large number whom Providence has taken from us, till they passed rejoicing, the limits of mortality, and left us in tears. Many more are now waiting, full of the same ‘glorious hopes,’ for the final summons of their Heavenly Master.—And shall it ever be, that a torrent of infidelity, heresy, or irreligion, shall, in judgment for our ingratitude, find its way from the dark caverns of hell to this consecrated retreat of the humble worshippers of God; and convert to a moral waste, a young plantation which He condescends himself to water and to keep!”

Note D.

A house in Baltimore is about to commence trade with Liberia, and we hope will find sufficient inducements to prosecute it. Probably no station on the whole western coast of Africa is more favourable to a profitable traffic with the interior than Montserado. Its rapidly increasing commerce augurs well for its prosperity, and by affording very strong motives to companies for trade to send out their vessels, will contribute greatly to the facilities for emigration, and consequently, to the augmentation of its numbers.

Note E.

In a war with the native tribes, during the very first year of the Colony’s existence, the members of the settlement, instructed and directed in their operations by Mr. Ashmun, evinced a degree of energy and courage, which has not perhaps been exceeded

in the annals of the world. Since their military organization has been improved, and their numbers augmented, they have shown themselves among the firmest and bravest of men. To justify this assertion, we need only refer to the extremely interesting and able papers furnished by Mr. Ashmun, many of which have been published.

Note F.

In Sir George Collier's report to the British Government, on the Slave Trade, in 1821, we find the following statement: "I am quite satisfied, as suits the views of the SPANISH slaving schooners, they at one time act as pirates against all vessels; then, under the flag of Artigas, as South American cruisers; and then, when it shall better serve them, return to the practice of slaving; and a vessel under the South American flag, professing herself a cruiser, may wait a cargo of slaves off the port where they may be collecting, without power on the part of a British officer to prevent her doing so, but at the risk of his ruin." The African Institution, in their report for 1824, have the following remarks in reference to the Spanish Slave Trade: "It is now made the law of Spain, that all captains, masters, and pilots of Spanish vessels, who purchase negroes on the coast of Africa, or introduce them into any part of the Spanish monarchy, or are found with slaves on board their vessels, shall lose their vessels, and be sentenced to ten years hard labour on the public works. It is to be regretted that these penalties should be so limited in their operation. They ought to extend to all Spanish subjects engaged in the Slave Trade as principals or agents."

"The importation of slaves into Cuba, is chiefly effected under the French and Portuguese flags; but notwithstanding the risks attending it, and the penal inflictions denounced against it, the Spanish flag also, is still employed in this proscribed traffic. And, in proportion to the risks, the desperate audacity of the criminals appears to have increased. They proceed strongly armed, to carry on their work of rapine and blood on the coast; and some of them have not been captured without a severe conflict with the British boats, attended by the loss of lives, and involving all the guilt of murder and piracy."

Note G.

A very able and interesting memorial has recently been addressed by the Free People of Colour of Baltimore, to the citizens of that place, imploring the means of emigration to Liberia. It has excited strong feelings in their favour, and it is expected that a bill appropriating one thousand dollars annually for such a purpose, will pass both Houses of the State Legislature. Such a bill has been adopted in the House of Delegates.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY VARIOUS RELIGIOUS AND LEGISLATIVE
BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia.

“Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia, have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been, or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose, frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success:

They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the Government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate;) to renew this effort, and do therefore *Resolve*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a Territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the States or Territorial Governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated, within this Commonwealth, and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such Territory, shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.

Passed by the House of Delegates, December 15th—by the Senate, with an amendment, December 20th—concurred in by the House of Delegates, December 21, 1816.

The following resolution unanimously passed the Legislature of Maryland.

BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *January 26th, 1818.*

Resolved, unanimously, That the Governor be requested to communicate to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the opinion of this General Assembly, that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our National Government, of procuring, through negotiation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the Free People of Colour of the United States.

By order:

LOUIS GASSAWAY, *clerk.*

Resolution of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee.

Your Committee are of opinion that such parts of said memorials and petitions as ask this General Assembly to aid the Federal Government in devising and executing a plan for colonizing, in some distant country, the Free People of Colour in the U. States, is reasonable, and for the purpose of effecting the object which they have in view, the Committee have drafted a resolution, which accompanies this report, the adoption of which they would recommend.

The Committee are of opinion that such parts of said memorials and petitions as pray the passage of a law to prohibit the bringing of slaves into, or through, the State, for sale, as well as those parts which pray that the owners of slaves of certain ages and descriptions, may be permitted to emancipate them without giving any security, are reasonable; and to endeavour to accomplish those objects, they have drafted a bill, which accompanies this report, the enacting of which into a law, the Committee also recommend.

All which is respectfully submitted,

NATH. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

Mr. Willis, from the same Committee, submitted the following resolution, which was read and adopted:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the Senators in Congress from this State, be, and they are hereby instructed; and that the Representatives be, and they are hereby requested, to give to the Government of the United States

any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect a plan which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the Free People of Colour who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their Territories.

By New Jersey—1825.

“*Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Legislature, a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would, in due time, effect the entire emancipation of slaves in our country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals; and that such a system should be predicated upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, and that the People and the States of this Union, ought mutually to participate in the duties and the burdens of removing it.*”

By Ohio—1824.

A resolution recommending “the gradual but entire emancipation of slaves, and a system of foreign colonization; and the passage of a law by the General Government, *with the consent of the slave-holding States*, providing that all children born of slaves thereafter, be free at the age of 21; and recognising the evil of slavery as a national one, and the principle that all the States should share in the duties and burdens of removing it.”

By Connecticut—1824.

“*Resolved, That the existence of slavery in the United States, is a great national evil, and that the People and the States ought to participate in the burdens and the duties of removing it, by all just and prudent measures, which may be adopted with a due regard to their internal peace and mutual harmony; and that a system of colonization, under the patronage of the General Government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object.*”

January 16, 1827.

“*Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky; That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an Asylum on the coast of Africa, for the Free People of Colour of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives in*

Congress from this State, be, and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the Colony of Africa, and to insure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States.

“*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.”

Similar resolutions are believed to have been adopted by the States of Rhode Island and Illinois.

The following resolution was submitted to the Senate of the United States, by Mr. King, of New York, Feb. 18th, 1825:

“*Resolved*, That as soon as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then, and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute or form a fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is pledged, that the said fund shall be inviolably applied, to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such Free People of Colour in any of the said States, *as by the laws of the States* respectively, may be allowed to be emancipated, or removed to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.”

The following by Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, March 2, 1825:

“*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be required to ascertain the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title to a portion of the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, that may be suitable for colonizing the Free People of Colour; the best routes across the Mountains, and the probable cost of a road and military post, necessary to a safe communication with such Colony, and to report the same to this House, at the next session of Congress.

From the (Geo.) Missionary.

At a called session of the Jackson County Auxiliary Colonization Society, held on the 2d day of April, 1825, the following preamble and resolutions were offered and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it is obvious that the present is an age of *great* and

successful experiment and enterprise, all having the melioration of the condition of the human family in view; and whereas, we do believe that the American Colonization Society may be justly ranked with the greatest means employed at this time, with a view to the accomplishment of those events which are indispensable as a prelude to that happy day (and which cannot be distant,) when violence and oppression shall be driven from the world, and the "knowledge of God shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea:"

Therefore, be it Resolved, That this Society, impelled by the foregoing considerations and convictions, and in anticipation of final success, renew to each other the solemn pledge of fidelity and perseverance in aiding to the utmost of their means the *great* and laudable enterprise of the Parent Society.

2. *Resolved,* That this Society, in anticipating the approaching 4th of July next, see much to excite their love and gratitude to God, and they trust in a just proportion their love to their fellow creatures of every cast: It is therefore recommended that that day be set apart as the *Day* that ushers in the first and great American Jubilee; and that so far as the members of this Society are concerned, or their influence extends, to loose the bands of labour on that day, and that a Committee, consisting of Wm. Pentecost, Hugh Montgomery, David Boring, Hosea Camp, and Joseph Hampton, be, and they are hereby appointed and requested to open a correspondence with such persons as they may deem most friendly to the institution, with a view to solicit donations in behalf and for the use of the Parent Society, and to call their attention to the expediency of forming Auxiliaries; and that they also avail themselves of the advantages of that auspicious day, in soliciting donations for the use of what we do not scruple to call, one of the greatest enterprises.

3. *Resolved,* That it is the opinion of this Society, that the cause in which the American Colonization Society is engaged, is *National*, and therefore requires and merits *National* aid; they consequently look with anxious anticipation to the National and State Governments, for their efficient co-operation, and to Auxiliaries and individuals for more liberal contributions.

4. *Resolved,* That the Treasurer of this Society transmit to Richard Smith, Esq. Treasurer of the American Colonization So-

ciety, all the money in his hands, except so much as may be necessarily retained for incidental expenses, and report to the Society at the next meeting.

5. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this day be transmitted to the editors of *The Missionary* for publication.

6. *Resolved*, That the Society now adjourn to the first Saturday in September next.

A true copy from the minutes:

W. PENTECOST, *Secretary, p. t.*

RESOLUTIONS.

The preceding sheet was struck off before we received the *preamble* which preceded the Kentucky resolution. We insert here the preamble, also the preamble and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of Delaware, February 8th, 1827.

“The Committee to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society, have had that subject under consideration, and now report:

“That upon due consideration of the said memorial, and from all other information which your Committee has obtained, touching that subject, they are fully satisfied that no jealousies ought to exist, on the part of this or any other slave-holding State, respecting the objects of this Society, or the effects of its labours.

“Your Committee are further well assured that the benevolent and humane purposes of the Society, and the political effects of those purposes, are worthy the highest consideration of all Philanthropists and Statesmen in the Union, whether they be citizens of slave-holding or non-slave-holding States. It is believed by your Committee, that the memorial itself is well calculated to present the subject in a proper point of view, and to interest the public mind in the laudable objects of that Society; they therefore refer to the same as a part of this report: Your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions.”

Whereas, the “Wilmington Union Colonization Society,” professing by its Constitution to be “Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society,” and that the object to which its views shall be exclusively directed, is the colonization on the coast of Africa, *with their own consent*, of the Free People of Colour of the Unit

ed States, has, by memorial addressed to this General Assembly, requested the expression of an opinion whether their views deserve the National support, and with the National funds, to such extent as the wisdom of Congress shall deem prudent. And in the said memorial, has set forth that the system of colonizing the Free People of Colour on the coast of Africa, has already been commenced by the "American Colonization Society," and that experiments have proved the plans adopted, to be no longer doubtful of success, if suitable National encouragement be given; and whereas, it satisfactorily appears to this Legislature, that the memorialists are engaged in endeavouring to execute one of the grandest schemes of philanthropy that can be presented to the American People, that it is no less than the cause of humanity, suffering humanity—the redemption of an ignorant and much injured race of men, from a degradation worse than servitude and chains, and placing them in that country on that luxuriant soil, and in that genial climate pointed to by the finger of Heaven as their natural inheritance.

And it further appears to this Legislature, that the object of this Society is two fold; for while it immediately and ostensibly directs its energies to the amelioration of the condition of the Free People of Colour, it relieves our country from an unprofitable burden, and which, if much longer submitted to, may record upon our history the dreadful cries of vengeance that but a few years since were registered in characters of blood at St. Domingo.

Therefore, be it *Resolved* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, That it is requisite for our prosperity, and what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken for the removal from this country of the free negroes and free mulattoes.

Resolved, That this General Assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that these objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the National Government, and with the National funds.

Resolved, That the Senators of this State in Congress, with the Representative from this State, be requested to approve and promote in the Councils of the Nation, measures for removing from

this country to Africa, the free coloured people who may be willing to emigrate.

Resolved, That the Speakers of the two Houses be requested officially to sign these resolutions, and forward a copy to each of our Senators, and a copy to our Representative in Congress.

Address of the Synod of Tennessee, to the Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Colour in the United States.

To the Hon. Bushrod Washington, Esq. President, &c.

RESPECTED SIR:

Through you the Synod of Tennessee embrace, with lively pleasure, an early opportunity of congratulating the Society formed at the Capital of our nation, and consisting of so many of our distinguished statesmen and fellow-citizens, for the colonization of the Free People of Colour among us, who may accede to their plan. We congratulate you on the noble and important object for which you are associated, on the providential signs of our times which signally favour your efforts, and on the wide spread and growing impression upon the public mind, that your success is connected with the best interests, not only of the people of colour, but of our country and mankind. If it is important that legal equality should accompany liberty, that Africa should receive the Gospel, and that the evils of the slave-trade should be overruled for her final enjoyment of the blessings of civilization and knowledge, liberty and religion, then it is important that your design should be encouraged. We wish you, therefore, to know, that within our bounds the public sentiment appears clearly and decidedly in your favour, and that the more vigorously and perseveringly you combine and extend your exertions on the plan you have adopted, the more you are likely to be crowned with the approbation of the people as well as with the higher rewards of doing good. As ministers and disciples of Him who proclaims light to them that sit in darkness, peace to a jarring world, liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, we anticipate the glorious day, when men shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest in all lands; when every one shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig tree, having none to molest or to make him afraid; when the rod of the oppressor and the tears of the oppressed shall be known no more;

but all men shall do unto others as they would be done unto in similar circumstances. This glorious change in the state of the world we expect will be brought about by the instrumentality of men under the blessing of God. While, then, the heralds of salvation go forth in the name and strength of their Divine master, to preach the Gospel to every creature, we ardently wish that your exertions and the best influence of all philanthropists may be united, to meliorate the condition of human society, and especially of its most degraded classes, till liberty, religion, and happiness shall be the enjoyment of the whole family of man.

Nashville Church, October 3d, 1817.

A true copy from the records of the Synod of Tennessee.

CHARLES COFFIN, *Stated Clerk.*

Extract from the journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, holden in Petersburg on the 13th May, 1819.

“*Resolved*, That this convention highly approve of the objects of the American Colonization Society, and that a committee be appointed to transmit to the President of the Society, a copy of this resolution, and to assure him of the good wishes and prayers of the committee in behalf of the benevolent exertions of the Society.

“*Resolved*, That the Rev. Wm. H. Wilmer, Robert Page, Esq. and Mr. Needham Washington, be the committee for that purpose.”

In Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.

Resolved, That the institution of the Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, on the coast of Africa, meets with the cordial approbation of this convention; and that it be earnestly recommended to all the members of this church, to give to the said Society their countenance and support.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the Hon. Bushrod Washington, the President; and to the members of the Board of Managers, for their zealous and persevering exertions in furtherance of the benevolent object of the Society.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President and Secretary of the Society.

Test,

H. L. DAVIS, *Secretary*.

Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The objects and plans of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, having been stated to the general assembly, and the same having been considered and discussed, the assembly resolved, that in their opinion the plan of the Society is benevolent in its design, and if properly supported, and judiciously and vigorously prosecuted, calculated to be extensively useful to this country and to Africa.

The situation of the people of colour has frequently attracted the attention of this assembly. In the distinctive and indelible marks of their colour, and the prejudices of the people, an insuperable obstacle has been placed to the execution of any plan for elevating their character, and placing them on a footing with their brethren of the same common family. In restoring them to the land of their fathers, the assembly hope the way may be opened, not only for the accomplishment of that object, but for introducing civilization and the gospel to the benighted nations of Africa.—From the information and statements received, the assembly believes, that the proposed Colony in Africa, may be made a powerful auxiliary in the efforts which are making to abolish the iniquitous traffick in slaves, carried on in Africa, and happily calculated to lay the foundation for a gradual emancipation of slaves in our country, in a legal and constitutional manner; and without violating the rights, or injuring the feelings of our southern brethren.

With these views, the assembly feel it a duty earnestly to recommend the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States to the patronage and attention of the churches under their care, and to benevolent individuals throughout the Union.

A true extract from the minutes of the general assembly of the Protestant Church.

Attest,

I. E. LATTA, *Permanent Clerk*.

Session of the Assembly, May 31st, 1819.

The following Resolution was adopted by the same in 1826.

The following resolution was passed in favour of the American Colonization Society, viz.:

The Assembly having witnessed with high gratification the progress of the American Colonization Society in a great work of humanity and religion, and believing that the temporal prosperity and moral interests of an extensive section of our country, of a numerous, degraded, and miserable class of men in the midst of us, and of the vast continent of Africa, now uncivilized, and unchristian, are intimately connected with the success of this institution; therefore

Resolved, That this assembly recommend to the churches under their care to patronize the objects of the American Colonization Society; and particularly that they take up collections in aid of its funds on the 4th of July next, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day, and whenever such course may be thought expedient, to give them assistance in such a manner as may be most conducive to the interests of the general cause.

Address from the Presbytery of North Carolina.

HILLSBOROUGH, APRIL 18, 1818.

SIR,

The Presbytery of Orange, in the state of North Carolina, learn with sincere and peculiar satisfaction, that a plan for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, has now ceased to be merely a subject of anxious wish to the hearts of the humane, and the charity of the christian. We rejoice in the institution of a Society, in which, permit us, sir, to say, that your selection to the presidency is calculated to excite a general confidence. To Him who has ruled in this auspicious event, we would render our thanks, that the Society has already commenced its operations, and is now, with a well-directed energy, advancing in their execution. It has long been the firm opinion of many in this part of our country, that nothing more was necessary to success, in colonizing vast numbers of free people of colour, than a common understanding among its friends, with a well digested method, distinctly pointed out, and evidently practicable without injury to the community. When the feeling and patriotic bosom has breathed the ardent wish, that our country might

be redeemed from the complicated evils which have been incorporated with society, it was to such a plan only as it was the object of your institution to patronize and effect, that the intelligent mind could look for the consolation of hope. Colonization was necessary; but how were the wisdom and efficacy to be combined, which were essential to its accomplishment. It was necessary, not only that cautious prudence should be satisfied, but even reluctant selfishness must, if possible, be left without a plausible plea for opposition, from apprehensions of public danger, untoward circumstances, or untimely failure. We think, that in the constitution and proceedings of the Colonization Society, we see all that we could wish. We might indeed desire to witness, and experience ourselves, a speedy and complete termination to the moral disease which mingles and circulates its vitiating influence through the whole of our social state; but with prayerful resignation we would submit to the will of our Heavenly Father, and be fervently grateful to him, for the prospect with which he permits our longing eyes to be cheered. As a pledge of ardour which animates this Presbytery in the cause which engages the Society, we are directed to inform you, that a resolution appointing a committee to give expression to their feelings, they have annexed another: "That it be earnestly recommended by this body to each of its members, to employ his influence and personal exertions, for promoting the establishment of Societies, auxiliary to the principal Colonization Society."

Our prayers, sir, are ever with you, and with the Society, that God, in whose hands the hearts of men are as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever he will, may plenteously infuse into your minds, and into the hearts of the people, a spirit of union and strength to accomplish the great object of your benevolent institution, for the sake of our Great Redeemer.

Signed by the committee,

FREDERICK NASH,
WM. M. PHEETON,
JOSEPH CALDWELL.

Hon. Bushrod Washington,

President of the American Colonization Society.

Extract from the minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, N. C.

Thirteenth session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville,
Tirza church, Monday, 4th October, 1819.

Resolved, That this Presbytery do heartily approve of the object proposed by the American Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States; and that they do sincerely wish and fervently pray, that the said Society may meet with the most abundant and speedy success.

Ordered, That an attested copy of the above resolution, be transmitted to the President of the said Society.

Truly extracted from the 151st page of the minutes of the Presbytery.

COLIN McIVER, *Stated Clerk*.

WESTHAMPTON, Sept. 9th, 1819.

Elias B. Caldwell, Esq. Secretary, &c.

SIR: At the meeting of the general Association of Massachusetts Proper, at Pittsfield, June 22d, 1819,

"The Association *voted*, That this Association entertain sentiments of high respect for the Society organized for the colonization of free blacks; that they most earnestly wish success to its noble and interesting objects; that they assure the directors of their co-operation, and beg them to persevere in the good work so favourably commenced.

"*Voted*, That a copy of this vote be transmitted to the Secretary of the Society."

Certified and transmitted with sentiments of respect, by sir, yours, &c.

ENOCH HALE, *Sec. gen. Ass. Mass. Proper*.

PRINCE EDWARD, Nov. 18th, 1819.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Winchester, on the 23d October, 1819, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and an order passed, that a copy should be transmitted to you, as President of the American Colonization Society.

"Whereas the Synod of Virginia are informed of the existence, in our country, of an association of intelligent and patriotic citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society, the

object of which is to send out to Africa such Free Persons of Colour as may be willing to go; and whereas there is reason to hope that this enterprise, if conducted with proper discretion, will produce the happiest effects, particularly in aiding to communicate the glad tidings of the Gospel, to an interesting quarter of the globe; and to meliorate the condition of a degraded portion of our population; while it promises the means of alleviating evils which our own country has reason to deplore.

Resolved, unanimously, that the Synod of Virginia recommend, and they do hereby cordially recommend, to all the members of the churches and congregations under their care, to aid the design of the said Society according to opportunity and ability, by their countenance, their contributions, and their prayers to Almighty God for its success."

[Signed]

BENJ. H. RICE, *Moderator.*

A true copy:

MATTHEW STYLE, *Stated Clerk.*

Resolution of the Methodist Conference of Virginia and North Carolina.

OXFORD, N. C. Feb. 28th, 1825.

Resolved, That this Conference highly approve the object of the American Colonization Society, and recommend it to the patronage of the people of our charge.

[Signed,]

JOHN EARLY, *Secretary.*

The following act was adopted by the Legislature of Georgia, in 1817.

An act of the Legislature of Georgia, for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who has been, or may hereafter be imported, or brought into this state, in violation of an act of the United States, entitled "an act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1808."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, and it is enacted by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for his excellency the governor, and he is hereby authorized, to appoint some fit and proper person, to proceed to all such ports and places within this state, as have, or may have, or may hereafter hold, any ne-

groes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may have been, or hereafter may be seized or condemned under the above recited act of Congress, and who may be subject to the control of this state; and the person so appointed shall have full power and authority to ask, demand, and recover and receive all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, and to convey the same to Milledgeville, and place them under the immediate control of the executive of this state.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That his excellency the governor is hereby empowered, to cause the said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, to be sold, after giving sixty days' notice in a public gazette, in such manner as he may think best calculated for the interest of this state.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That if, previous to any sale of any such persons of colour, the Society for Colonization of free persons of colour within the United States, will undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place, which they may procure as a colony for free persons of colour, at the sole expense of said Society, and shall likewise pay to his excellency the governor, all expenses incurred by the State, since they have been captured and condemned, his excellency the governor is authorized and requested, to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said Society, in such manner as he may deem expedient.

Assented to, 18th December, 1817.

MEMORIAL

REFERRED TO A SELECT COMMITTEE, JANUARY 29, 1827.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The Memorial of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States,

RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS,

That, in the year 1816, a number of respectable individuals formed themselves into a Society, at the seat of the National Government, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary coloniza-

tion of the Free People of Colour of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere; and soon afterwards adopted preparatory measures for the accomplishment of their purpose. With this view, suitable persons were sent to the Southwestern coast of Africa, with instructions to visit the British settlement of Sierra Leone, and other places in the vicinity, to select a proper location for the proposed Colony, and to ascertain how far reliance might be placed on the favorable disposition of the native tribes; and from these commissioners a report was received of the most encouraging character. After some further inquiries, and preparatory efforts, a small Colony was sent out, in the year 1820, and placed on Sherbro Island as a temporary residence, until possession could be obtained of a neighbouring tract of land on the continent, which the natives had promised to sell. The performance of this promise was delayed and evaded under various pretexts, for a considerable time, during which the health of the Colony suffered very materially from the low, flat and marshy ground of Sherbro, where they were compelled to continue their residence much longer than had been anticipated. At length, however, the Agents of the Government of the United States, employed to select a suitable situation for recaptured Africans, effected, in conjunction with those of the Colonization Society, the purchase of an extensive territory at the mouth of Montserado river, including the cape and bay of that river, and there the Colony has been established. The soil is fertile, the land elevated nearly one hundred feet above the sea, the climate as healthy as any in Africa, and the anchorage in the bay and roadstead not inferior to any on the whole coast. The distance from the flourishing Colony at Sierra Leone is between two and three hundred miles. The natives in the vicinity are divided into a great number of small and nearly independent tribes; and being but slightly held together by any superior authority, may be considered as wholly incapable of uniting to any serious extent, for purposes of hostility. In a single instance an attack was made on the Colony, while in its feeblest condition; but the facility with which it was repelled, renders the future security of the Colony from similar attacks, unquestionable, under its probable increase of population, and the improved means of defence with which it has already been provided. The conduct of the natives, indeed, is now of the most

peaceable and friendly character; and their kindness and confidence has been considerably increased by the return of several individuals of distinction among the neighboring tribes who had been taken from a Spanish slave ship, and after receiving in America the most friendly attentions, were restored by the American Government to the homes from which they had been torn.

Notwithstanding the difficulties inseparable from the opening and first settlement of distant and uncultivated regions, difficulties increased on the present occasion by the scanty means to be drawn from the only sources of supply open to the Society, the Colony has annually increased in population, and now contains nearly six hundred individuals; a government has been established, provided, as far as practicable, with the necessary securities for life, liberty and property. Schools are opened for the instruction of natives as well as colonists; lands have been cleared and partitioned among the settlers, and an annual product may soon be anticipated adequate to the comfortable supply not only of those who have already emigrated, but of those also who may hereafter be induced to seek for happiness and independence in the land of their fathers, and in a home of their own. For more full and detailed information concerning the Colony, the Society refer to the accompanying report. Such is a general outline of the operations of the Society, and such the present condition of the Colony. In the progress that has been made, your memorialists have found nothing to discourage them, and from the actual state of things which they have thus been enabled to present to the view of your honorable body, they derive the pleasing anticipation of being able to demonstrate to the world, that they are engaged in an enterprise neither unwise nor impracticable. In the course of a few short years, a small number of respectable individuals, actuated only by the most philanthropic motives, possessing no political power, and destitute of all pecuniary resources, except such as were to be found in the charity, the benevolence, and the patriotism of their fellow citizens, have succeeded in exploring a distant coast, in overcoming in a great measure, the very natural but very powerful prejudices of the community in which they live, and in transplanting to the Western shores of Africa, and maintaining in a state of perfect security,

a Colony of several hundred of the free coloured population of their country. But a period has at length arrived when the Society would no longer be justified in relying on its own limited resources for accomplishing what yet remains of its patriotic undertaking.

The Colony that has been settled, small as it is, is yet too large to be governed by a distant and unincorporated Society. If the acknowledged imperfections of human nature, and the uniform history of mankind, did not evince the dangers necessarily connected with the sudden transition of any people from a state of moral and political degradation to one of unqualified freedom, the experience of the British Colony at Sierra Leone would sufficiently demonstrate how utterly fallacious must be all reliance on political restrictions, deriving their only sanction from the voluntary submission of a population such as that of which the Colony at Liberia will be composed. And if, with these evidences before it, the Society should leave its infant settlement to the inadequate protection to be derived from its own resources, it would be justly chargeable with all the evils that must necessarily result from the defective powers of control with which it is invested.

In reference too to the great objects to be accomplished, it is now time to look to other means than such as can be supplied by individual charity. The extent to which reliance may be placed on this resource has been in a great measure ascertained; and if, at the very commencement of the undertaking, aided as it has been by all the charms of novelty, means have been furnished for removing only a few hundred out of the many thousands that are annually added to the free coloured population of the country, it is obvious that a further dependence on this resource, would be little less than an abandonment of the enterprise. The evil to be removed is continually increasing, while the means for its removal are proportionably diminished: and with every exertion on the part of the Colonization Society, unless access can be had to other resources, each succeeding year must find it more remote from the object of its pursuit. Under these circumstances the Society has felt itself justified in asking the immediate and effectual interposition of the Government of the country. The object it proposes to accomplish, is the removal to the coast of Africa.

with their own consent, of such people of colour, within the United States, as are already free, and of such others as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different States, may hereafter liberate. Such an object, connected as it is with the justice, the humanity and the welfare of our country, and calculated to elevate the character, and to improve the condition of a very degraded portion of the human race, cannot fail to be considered as one of deep and general interest; and the wisdom of the National Legislature may be safely relied on for suggesting and applying the necessary means for its accomplishment. Your memorialists confidently trust that in this explicit avowal of the real and only design of the American Colonization Society, will be found its best vindication from the contradictory imputations cast upon it, of attempting at the same moment, and by the same process, to interfere, on the one hand, with the legal obligations of slavery, and on the other, to rivet the chains more firmly than ever on its present subjects. The Society has at all times recognized the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery; and whatever may have been thought of its unhappy influence on the general interests of the country, the Government of the Union has never been looked to as the proper or authorized instrument for effecting its removal. But to that Government it has been thought that resort might be had for furnishing the means of voluntary emigration to another description of population exercising a confessedly injurious influence on every portion of our country, but especially so on those parts of it in which slavery still exists. And if, in relation to the latter, the effect of such a measure should be to afford to individual humanity a wider field for action, and to the State authorities an opportunity, and an inducement to encourage rather than to forbid emancipation within their respective limits, your memorialists have hoped that this consideration alone, instead of prejudicing their present application, would operate as one of its most powerful recommendations. And that such would be the case with the nation they have every reason to believe. The reception which the Colonization Society has met, in almost every instance, from the people, bespeaks a deep and general interest in its success. And the resolutions which have been adopted by a very large proportion of the Legislatures of the States, in favour of the plan of colonizing the free people of colour,

indicate it as an object entitled in every respect to the aid and patronage of a Government whose peculiar province it is, in the exercise of its legitimate powers, "to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare" of the country over which it presides. To that Government the question is now fairly submitted, in the fullest confidence that it will receive the consideration due to its importance, and a decision worthy of the Legislature of a free, a great and an enlightened nation.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ART. I. This Society shall be called, "The American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States."

ART. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ART. III. Every citizen of the United States, who shall subscribe these articles, and be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the Society, shall be a member. On paying a sum not less than thirty dollars, at one subscription, shall be a member for life.

ART. IV. The officers of this Society shall be, a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above named officers, and twelve other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, at their annual meeting on the Saturday preceding new year's day, and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ART. V. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, and to call meetings of the Society, and of the Board, when he thinks necessary, or when required by any three members of the Board.

ART. VI. The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ART. VII. The Secretary shall take minutes of the proceedings, prepare and publish notices, and discharge such other duties as the Board, or the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, according to seniority, (when the Board is not sitting,) shall direct. And the Recorder shall record the proceedings and the names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. VIII. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the accounts, and exhibit a statement of receipts and expenditures at every annual meeting, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. IX. The Board of Managers shall meet on the first Monday in January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in July, and the first Monday in October, every year, and at such other times as the President may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this constitution.

ART. X. Every Society which shall be formed in the United States to aid in the object of this Association, and which shall cooperate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto; and its officers shall be entitled to attend and vote at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers.

LIST OF SOCIETIES

Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

AUXILIARY MARYLAND STATE SOCIETY, (Established in Baltimore.)

Col. John Eager Howard, *President.*

Hon. Chief Justice Bruce, *Vice President.*

Luke Tiernan, *Treasurer.*

Edward J. Coale, *Secretary.*

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF VERMONT.

Hon. Elijah Paine, *President.*

Vice Presidents:

Hon. C. P. Van Ness,

His Ex. Ezra Butler.

Managers.

Rev. Almon Dunbar,
Hon. Seth Wetmore,
Hon. Martin Chittenden,
Hon. Israel P. Dana,
Rev. James Hobart,
Hon. D. Azro A. Buck,

Hon. Amariah Chandler,
Samuel Clark, Esq.
Hon. Phineas White,
Rev. Calvin Yale,
Hon. Thomas Emerson,
Hon. Abner Forbes.

Hon. Jeduthun Loomis, *Treasurer,*

Hon. Joseph Howes, *Auditor,*

Rev. Chester Wright, *Secretary.*

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW-JERSEY.

Robert Field Stockton, Esq. (of U. S. Navy,) *President.*

Vice Presidents.

James S. Green, Esq.
L. Q. C. Elmer, Esq.
Dr. John T. Woodhull,

Gen. John Frelinghuysen,
James Stryker, Esq.
Professor John Maclean.

Managers.

Richard M. Green, Esq.
Thomas White, Esq.
Prof. Charles Hodge,
Rev. Geo. S. Woodhull,
George Sherman,
Daniel Fenton,

Dr. A. P. Hagerman,
Prof. L. Halsey,
Samuel J. Bayard, Esq.
Emley Olden,
Hiram Goodrich,
Joseph Nimmo,

Robert Voorhees, Esq. *Treas'r.*

Rev. Robert Baird, *Secretary.*

Directors or Honorary Managers.

His Ex. I. H. Williamson,
 Hon. A. Kirkpatrick,
 Hon. Richard Stockton,
 Hon. T. Frelinghuysen,
 Hon. Lewis Condict,
 Hon. William Russell,
 Hon. Gabriel Ford,
 David Thompson, Esq.
 Samuel Bayard, Esq.
 Hon. Charles Ewing,
 William Cruser, Esq.
 Peter D. Vroom, Jr. Esq.
 Dr. John Vancleve,
 Dr. A. R. Taylor,
 John N. Simpson, Esq.
 Joseph Olden,

Nathaniel Cole, M. D.
 John Potter, Esq.
 C. L. Hardenburgh, Esq.
 Samuel Aaron,
 Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller,
 Rev. Dr. A. Alexander,
 Rev. Dr. James Carnahan,
 Rev. Dr. John Macdowell,
 Rev. Dr. Asa Hillyer,
 Rev. David Comfort,
 Rev. Isaac V. Brown,
 Rev. Wm. C. Brownlee,
 Rev. Dr. Cannon,
 Rev. Mr. Labagh,
 Rev. Dr. P. Milledoller,
 Rev. Samuel Doughty.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

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